

JPRS-NEA-88-025

11 APRIL 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-88-025

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## ISRAEL

### Defense Minister Rabin Backs IDF Role in Uprising

44230010a Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew  
27 Jan 88 pp 16-17

[Yitzhaq Tunik and Yosef Argaman interview with Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin]

[Text] One and 1/2 months after the beginning of the riots in Gaza and the West Bank, Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin told BAMAHAHE in a special interview that he did not believe that anyone had a precise answer to the question as to why they broke out. According to him, it was a combination of recent events and protracted processes that ignited the flames. Similarly, any attempt to define the weight of each one of the factors involved in the outbreak of the riots and their continuation was in Rabin's eyes merely speculation.

Among the ongoing measures, the principal one in his eyes is the lack of certainty which was created in the territories over the last 20 years, after all the Israeli administrations left the decision concerning the political-legal status of the territories open for future negotiations on a permanent peace agreement. He expressed the belief that this had been a correct decision on the part of Israel, because unilateral annexation would have been a serious blunder, while unilateral separation would have invited intensified violence and terrorism.

Another protracted problem, in the defense minister's opinion, stems from the fact that the refugees have been living in camps, especially in Gaza, for 40 years.

Among the recent events whose impact on the outbreak of the riots the defense minister found difficult to assess was the disappointment of the Arabs in the territories after 2 years of political activities which seemed to promise results. Along this line, the Amman meeting of Arab leaders, as well as the summit between the United States and the Soviet Union, had signaled to the Palestinians that their problem had been relegated to a lower priority.

The defense minister said: "Some of us certainly said (from the very beginning) that in the absence of a hope-giving political process, it is only natural that sooner or later a process of terrorism or other escalating events may emerge (in the territories)."

According to the defense minister, the recent riots at first sprang "from the inside." For the first time since 15 May 1948, the inhabitants of the Palestinian territories are fighting the Palestinian battle themselves. During all those years it was the Arab countries who carried the banner of military and political struggle against Israel. Since last 9 December, the inhabitants of the territories,

who specifically identify themselves as Israeli Arabs, are setting the tone—not the Arab countries, nor the Palestinian terrorist organizations, which are outside the area.

According to Yitzhaq Rabin, the events acquired an impetus of their own, through an "inner process." This is, according to him, a "different" situation than in the past. He was not inclined to describe it as a "new" situation.

[Question] Mr. Rabin, had you known at the beginning of the riots what you know now, would you have taken different steps, so that events would not develop the way they did?

[Answer] This is a hypothetical question. It is not fair to answer it based on after-the-fact wisdom. I want to state that, based on past experience and the information we had, I think that all of us—the entire system, because we are all responsible—viewed this (the riots) as the beginning of events similar to some that we experienced in the past. The fact that it acquired broader dimensions for a longer period of time made it necessary for us to employ ways, means, and forces appropriate to the circumstances.

[Question] The main means have been, in order: deportation, beatings, and detention. Has the method of deportations proven itself?

[Answer] Deportation is one of a series of measures. Anyone who thinks that deportation can solve problems is wrong. There is no single solution to our problem, which is still very much with us. Following the lessons of the first stage (of the riots), a certain order of priorities was established. The first priority: to preempt violence. Simultaneously we sought a channel for those who wanted to continue to work in the territories or in Israel.

[Question] There has been a change in the means used to prevent violence, too...

[Answer] The scope of the situation compelled us to take various measures: extended recourse to detention, and handling both large and small riots with the aid of a large force which does not wait to become a target, but takes the initiative and charges ahead full force. Here we must stress that the army was instructed to do this in the course of action—that is to say, during violent demonstrations, while stones are hurled, and while curfews are violated—and certainly not to fall upon people.

[Question] Has this method been successful?

[Answer] As a rule, I think that this method has worked; specifically, while 36 Arabs were killed by random fire, no one was killed by the use of force.

[Question] This, however, has exacted a price from IDF soldiers: face to face violence exacerbates hatred and inflames impulses...



[Answer] There is no doubt that the worst type of combat for the individual is that between a soldier and a violent civilian demonstrator. And today this is even more difficult than in the past.

[Question] Why is that?

[Answer] Both young men in our generation and the adults among us have had (physical) conflicts with Arabs. In training and in the Palmah there have been fights over fields or fights with intruding herders. There have been fistfights and stone throwing. Only at a later stage were guns used in battle. Concerning the present day IDF soldiers, the process has been reversed. There is no doubt that this creates problems. That is why it took the IDF time to adapt to this type of action, which is in fact police action of the type that is used by the police force of every country in the world.

However, this is not customary police action. I have repeatedly been asked about this by both foreigners and Israelis, and my answer is that, when the police disperses a violent student demonstration in Paris—and by the way, three people died in such instances from beatings, something that has not happened and I hope will never happen here—or in Seoul, it is an internal matter. What happens in the territories, on the other hand, is a conflict between two separate religious and national entities affected by far deeper hatred, fighting, and resentment. Consequently, this is undoubtedly a tough mission for the IDF soldiers. It is not what they were trained and taught to do.

[Question] It appears that the fact that they were not trained to carry out this type of mission is beginning to create a problem. Increasingly we hear about soldiers adopting extreme attitudes. Aren't you raising a new generation of Kahane supporters?

[Answer] I am not now interested in how soldiers vote. I am examining things in their essence, from the viewpoint of the missions given the IDF by the government through the defense minister. Here I want to add that I do have opportunities to meet with soldiers. I have had talks with battalion commanders and other officers in units active in this area. I believe that precisely this approach adopted in the third stage of the events gives them a feeling that they are attaining their objective.

[Question] Namely?

[Answer] Namely, during the first stage I heard that there was a feeling of no answer, i.e., a choice between either fire or nothing. This time, battalion commanders have told me that despite all the difficulties, they feel that they are fulfilling their mission. The combination of assault and use of force has proven itself. I am talking about assault on those who refuse to give up. As far as the latter are concerned, everything possible must be done to disperse them so that they will remember that it is no longer worth participating in violent demonstrations.

[Question] What about insubordinate behavior among the soldiers?

[Answer] I know that there have been cases of insubordination here and there. I know that the general staff, the regional commanding officers, brigade commanders, and other commanding officers are handling these cases. Soldiers must know that they may not disobey orders.

[Question] What is the short term objective that you say soldiers feel they are attaining?

[Answer] To restore quiet, so that life can return to normal. The long-term solution is a political solution. In the meantime, however, it is the responsibility of the defense apparatus and the IDF to prove that violence will not achieve anything.

[Question] How long can the IDF maintain such a large force? Will you bring in reservists?

[Answer] Reservists have been involved this time, too. In another week or two, a larger number of reservists will be called up. Some people believe that reservists, being more mature, can handle the problem better, thus preempting insubordination.

[Question] What do you think about it?

[Answer] I am waiting to see the results.

[Question] Will the army deployment in Gaza and the West Bank change, once the unrest is over?

[Answer] I will not specify the future magnitude of the force, except to say that it will have to be tailored to the circumstances. We will have to alleviate the burden on the regular army, mainly so that the soldiers can return to the training routine and courses. Consequently, reserve units will be added to the force. It all depends on the circumstances.

In general, I want to add that it has taken the IDF time to adjust to this mission. In the final analysis, however, given the difficult circumstances, the army has been doing the best possible job, and it has been a tough job. I understand the difficulties. I am even proud of the Israeli youth for finding it difficult to do. But they are doing their job in the best possible manner.

[Question] Sir, would you describe this mission as one that is difficult for Israel to carry out?

[Answer] The mission is difficult. Not from a military viewpoint, but from a propaganda viewpoint. We are not facing here an attacking army or terrorists who murder indiscriminately. We are facing civilians and naturally, in such a mission, our chances of gaining sympathy abroad are almost nil. Words are not sufficient to compete with the pictures that have been shown to audiences in general, and to particular audiences in Israel.

[Question] Do you feel that you have received the necessary support, as defense minister, for carrying out these actions?

[Answer] The government has extended full support to me, the IDF, and the defense apparatus. After all, the IDF is carrying out a mission in accordance with the government's instructions. The government has also laid down limitations and directions through me, as defense minister.

[Question] Nevertheless, what makes it difficult?

[Answer] The circumstances: harsh criticism from abroad; descriptions in the Israeli media; statements made by, among others, senior officers, who in all decency should not hide behind the anonymity of "a senior officer."

I, for one, have told battalion commanders that I want to hear anyone who has any criticism. If anyone feels that way, let him stand up and say so. And some did. I think that this is the correct way to go about it. The issue must be addressed within the army. We must discuss it and must enable officers and soldiers to come up within the internal framework of the army and say what they feel. This would allow us to explain how we came to this point, why we have to take these measures, what is permissible and what is not. A good deal of propaganda must be, and indeed is, carried out within the army. Soldiers must be able to vent their feelings and to receive answers. They should not be fed only through the public media. The educational and command branches have a highly significant role to play in this respect.

[Question] Regarding another matter, it is said that the situation in the territories will never return to what it was. What do you think about that?

[Answer] I know to whom the gift of prophecy was given after the fall of the temple. I do not deal in prophecy.

[Question] What about a situation assessment?

[Answer] If you will ask me how I see the situation today, I will tell you: I see a thin layer of calm covering coals still smoldering underneath. We must keep the finger on the pulse, and in this respect, Gaza is not the same as Judeaea and Samaria, and there are no two identical factors in the West Bank itself. Commanding officers have learned a lot in the course of the past-6 weeks. They have learned to sense what is happening more accurately. They must continually keep in mind the following questions: what is the problem, what is the objective, and what are the desirable means to, on the one hand, deal with the violence, and, on the other hand, open up channels for positive actions.

[Question] Many people are offering advice in this situation. For example, it has been said that General (Res.) Rehav'am (Ghandi) Ze'evi sent you a letter in which he asked to be given an opportunity to solve the problem within 3 days. Was such a letter indeed sent and received?

[Answer] I have received many letters and I do not want to refer to any of them in particular. We read all the letters, and when the person in question is a general or an experienced senior officer, we invite him in for a talk and we listen to his suggestion. But one has to remember that past situations do not necessarily resemble the present one. We have to adjust the general system to the present circumstances.

[Question] Let us talk about the foreign media, which you have mentioned among the factors that make the mission difficult. They too have complaints about our behavior. Do you think that there is discrimination against us and that reality is being distorted?

[Answer:] Some media did distort and falsify the reality. For example, the television program aired in the United States, which did the impossible to find a comparison between us and South Africa. On the other hand, some of the media simply photographed what was happening. There is no doubt that clashes between army or police and civilians do not create a heartening image. Every violent incident is ugly. It is very difficult to compete with words against pictures. Here we have to leave room for the time factor. In my opinion, the best propaganda will be achieved when peace is restored. Peace and quiet will be the best propaganda answer.

[Question] We read in the press that the IDF, together with other parties, is establishing a foreign media center in Jerusalem and Gaza. Isn't it too late for that?

[Answer] There is no limitation on improvement in any area of endeavor. There may have been a certain lag in the propaganda area in this respect. The media center established in Jerusalem is shared by the IDF, the defense apparatus, the foreign ministry, and the prime minister's office. Its purpose is to permit greater coordination, so that each one of the above does not come out with its own reports.

I still think that the sooner we restore peace, the better off we will be (from a propaganda viewpoint, too). I think that the other side is aware of this, too. I would not want to ignore that. The people in the territories have a feeling of achievement. They feel that through the riots they have brought their problem to the awareness of the international community better than at any time in the past, and that they have perhaps forced the Arab countries to set their problem as more urgent than they did prior to 9 December.



[Question] Mr. Rabin, a personal question: your name has been closely linked to the policy of force. Is this the new face of Yitzhaq Rabin, the outstanding student of the Kaduri school, the Palmah commanding officer, and the author of the famous and moving Mount Scopus speech after the 6-Day War?

[Answer] I have always differentiated between conflicts that one is forced to take upon oneself in the absence of alternatives, and conflicts that are a matter of choice and decision. I view what is happening in the territories as a conflict that has been imposed upon us without a choice, and it is our duty to show that violence will not achieve anything. As is known, I am not a supporter of Greater Israel. Nevertheless, I am equally convinced that giving in to violence invites more violence against us in all its forms.

I prefer the use of force, within the limitations I mentioned, to opening fire. The possibilities are limited: shooting or folding. Folding is out of the question. I am at peace with our policy, because this has been forced upon us; it is not my choice, but Israel did not initiate it, and most of all, the alternative is collapse, humiliation, and withdrawal.

[Question] Would you like to remain defense minister for another term?

[Answer] I suggest we do not deal with the future political issues of the next cabinet. I can say that I have dealt with defense matters for most of my adult years. I view this as one of the major concerns of the nation and the state, and I shall always consider myself privileged to be involved in it.

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## KUWAIT

**Investment in Foreign Stock Market Increases**  
44000049 *Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English*  
16 Feb 88 p 12

[Text] Kuwait—Kuwait's fund managers have launched a bargain-basement buying spree on depressed world stock markets.

While stunned investors switched from shares into bonds and cash after last October's 'Black Monday' crash, Kuwaitis seized the chance to buy into Western firms, including a stake in British Petroleum (BP).

With up to \$5 billion in fresh funds to invest in its current financial year, the Kuwait Investment Authority (KIA) has emerged as a major player on world stock markets.

"This is the time to allocate much fresh money to big companies in the industrial world in addition to some proportion to bonds and other securities," said Khalid Abu Saud, financial adviser to the Amir.

### Blue-chip Shares

Abu Saud, who said he was speaking for himself and not KIA, told Reuters he strongly recommended undervalued blue-chip shares that yielded dividends above interest on bank deposits.

Kuwait's reserves are estimated at \$870 billion and bankers say Black Monday probably shaved no more than 10 percent of its portfolio, reflecting the quality of its stocks, hedging and a limited shift to bonds and cash in mid-1987.

At the head of the Gulf and exposed to any overspill of the long-running Iran-Iraq war, Kuwait has built up a reputation as one of the region's most sophisticated international investors.

But the strategy of investing abroad was well developed long before the war flared in 1980—for the past 25 years Kuwait has pumped surplus oil income into foreign firms, real estate and bonds to safeguard its future when the oil runs dry.

"KIA has a long record of beautiful investments," said Maha Al Ghunaim, vice-president for portfolio management at Kuwait Foreign Trading, Contracting and Investment Co (KFTCIC) whose clients include KIA. "They have proved themselves many times."

Bankers estimate KIA has up to \$5 billion in new funds to invest in the current fiscal year which ends in June. This includes some 10 percent of Kuwait's estimated \$6.3 billion in oil revenue, ear-marked every year for what is pointedly called a "fund for future generations."

Earlier investments will generate an extra \$4.4 billion, according to estimates by the National Bank of Kuwait, and bankers expect that to be ploughed back into markets.

Bankers say the fund for future generations has been shaped into a high quality portfolio that by law cannot be drawn down until the year 2001. That, they add, gives Kuwait a long-term perspective few international investors can afford.

"KIA is very conservative," said Mr Ghunaim. "Quality is the key question... and they are looking at the very, very, long-term."

Hard figures on Kuwaiti investments are few, but the most recent official data shows as of June 1985, KIA held foreign securities worth roughly \$36 billion, of which 40 percent in the United States.

Bankers say there has since been a big new push into Japan, where stock investments reached \$7.7 billion on the eve of the October crash, double the level 2 years earlier.

And when the stock crash dampened interest in Britain's sale of \$2.19 billion BP shares, KIA's London-based subsidiary Kuwait Investment Office (KIO) saw a unique opportunity to gain a foothold in the oil giant without bidding up the share price.

To date, that stake has been built up to 19.37 percent. The move provoked an outcry in Britain from opposition member of parliament, who fear Kuwait will seek control of the company to further its own already extensive oil interests in Europe.

KIO has not generally interfered in management even after building up substantial stakes in companies such as West Germany's car maker Daimler-Benz and chemical firm Hoechst.

But bankers believe board representation at BP would bring Kuwait obvious advantages—from expertise on how to run an integrated oil multi-national to possible access to crude oil and petrol pump outlets throughout Europe.

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## LEBANON

### Haydar Discusses U.S. Role, Upcoming Presidential Elections

44000048 Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English  
22-28 Feb 88 pp 14-17

[Article by Nadim Abou-Ghannam]

[Text] The American administration is only concerned with Israel's security, while Lebanon is totally ignored in spite of its suffering from the Israeli occupation, according to Mr Akef Haidar. The United States policy is antagonistic towards Lebanon, as it claims that it is the center of terrorist activities but prefers to ensure security on the Lebanese scene in order to achieve both the international conference and resolve the Gulf War.

Haidar, the vice-president of the Amal Movement, condemned the assassination attempt against the president, but was astonished how an unsuccessful attempt is given this much concern while the crime which claimed the life of late Prime Minister Karami was ignored.

He told this magazine that the military war in Lebanon is already concluded. As for the presidential election, he insisted that it should be preceded by national accord, without which political struggles will continue. He pointed out that Damascus and America are the two major electors.

Haidar described Bishop Khalil Abi Nader as well informed on the Christian issue, since he believes that Israel, and not the Moslem Arabs, is the real enemy of Christianity in Lebanon and the Middle East.

Moving to the camp war, Haidar said this war was imposed on the Amal Movement during specific circumstances and for political reasons. This Movement has presented the heroic resistance with a gift, lifting the siege around the camps, because the Palestinian uprising is the one to liberate Palestine, and not the international conferences.

Here is the translation of the interview, which was conducted in Arabic:

[Question] What prompted the U.S. administration to renew its efforts to resolve the Lebanese crisis and to officially invite presidential advisor, Elie Salem to meet with both Shultz and Murphy?

[Answer] I don't think the American administration is particularly interested in the Lebanese issue, and I don't think that Murphy's recent visit to the Middle East was to discuss Lebanon's issue. It is well known is that the American administration is concerned with Israel's security and interests and with its strategic interests in the Middle East. There are two major topics for Murphy's visit to the Middle East region. The first is the international conference which is recently being seriously discussed, and the second topic is the Gulf War. Therefore, it is quite natural that Murphy's visit to Damascus was to discuss those two topics, because Damascus is an undivisible part of the Arab situation which is confronting Israel. The international conference should also be discussed with Damascus which is directly concerned with the solution of the Middle East crisis, because the Golan Heights are still occupied by Israel. The other topic, namely the Gulf War, is of interest to the American administration which sent its navy to protect Arab tankers and vessels, using this as a pretext for its intensive military presence in the Gulf area.

The American administration knows that Damascus, which backs the Iranian Republic in its war against Iraq, is exerting political efforts in this respect, particularly Syria's current foreign relations with the Gulf states, in a bid to end the tension between the Gulf states and Iran. Thus, Damascus is directly concerned with the international conference on the Middle East, and is directly concerned with the Gulf War. The U.S. administration cannot treat these two topics without dealing with Damascus.

As for the Lebanese issue, it is being ignored totally by the United States, although Lebanon is suffering from Israeli occupation and from internal disintegration. Lebanon does not exist on the U.S. political map, because the U.S. administration, including (U.S. Secretary of State George) Shultz, has expressed animosity towards Lebanon on the pretext that it [is] a center of terrorist



activity. Indeed, the Middle East Airlines Company is forbidden to fly to the United States, while the Lebanese who travel to the United States are not treated properly. Therefore discussion between the American administration and Damascus regarding Lebanon was just a discussion in passing, due to the fact that providing adequate security in Lebanon would help in the achievement of the two major projects, namely an international conference and the Gulf War. There seems to be some attempts by the U.S., Damascus, through Lebanese or Arab intermediaries, to bring closer the various points of view, which are now taking a positive attitude, such as the declaration of President Gemayel with respect to the good and important relations between Damascus and Lebanon.

[Question] What is your comment on the assassination attempt against President Gemayel, and what are the benefits that he may gain from his visit to Sanaa and Khartoum?

[Answer] In this respect, one cannot but condemn the assassination of any person, but condemnation is not enough. We are against assassination in general, particularly the political assassinations. The assassination of the president of the republic creates a vacuum which does not serve Lebanon's interest. However, I do not know whether there actually was an assassination attempt, or whether that was a specific scenario on this topic. In fact, such matters are no more our concern. Supposing that the plane landed in West Beirut, where security in the airport and elsewhere is very important and well ensured, this crime did not take place, but this topic fills pages and pages, at a time an ugly crime was committed against late Prime Minister Rashid Karami while he was on board a military helicopter flying from a military air base, and under the command of military officials known to be loyal to the regime and still we do not hear condemnation or the following up of the case to unveil the culprits. At any rate, condemnation and investigation prove that we in Lebanon "have summer and winter" on the same level. We shall continue to combat this mentality to get rid of the hegemony which symbolizes inequality in Lebanon, where a prime minister is assassinated with no one to care for, while an attempt on a plane supposed to take the president of the republic to a certain place takes a double volume although the president was not at all hurt. This proves that the method of hegemony, and isolation as well as the division of the people into categories still dominate in Lebanon, and this means that we shall remain in a permanent political struggle on various levels until we reach real democracy, justice and equality.

As for the visit of President Amin Gemayel to Sudan and Yemen, or previously to Canada, France and other countries, I cannot evaluate these visits, because if they are to be fruitful on the Lebanese national level, they should go hand in hand with a government coordination and not unilaterally. It is known today that the state is partitioned, there is a president and there is a cabinet,

but the president and the cabinet do not meet, and therefore any diplomatic and political action on the presidential level does not fall within the Lebanese national framework. So, when President Gemayel visits one of the Arab countries which are antagonistic to the Islamic and national situation in Lebanon, and I don't mean Sudan and other states, he would be provoking the Arabs and the Moslems against the Arabs and Moslems in Lebanon, and would be supporting indirectly the Israeli trend in Lebanon, where the government and the Foreign Ministry are represented, we would have blessed this visit, but I consider this visit as a personal visit aimed against the Islamic and national situation in Lebanon. He might be personally benefitting on the individual level for his political future after his term in office expires. But [this] means nothing to us on the national level.

[Question] Do you think the presidential election will be held as scheduled, and do you expect military clashes in the period that precedes these elections, or will the armistice continue?

[Answer] In my view point, the military war in Lebanon is concluded since a long time. The war in the destructive and combatting sense had ended. Certain individual problems take place, while the Lebanese citizen is not able to decide on his political future through the use of arms. The Lebanese are no more ready to fight against each other regardless of the various decisions. If the war goes on for hundreds of years, the Lebanese will be forced to sit around one table to modify their positions and to confer on their daily living affairs.

We have already called for an end to fighting and destruction, and it is well known that the Amal Movement never participated in a battle except on the basis of self-defence. The answer to this question is that there are objective conditions which do not encourage a new military war in Lebanon. As for the presidential election, we have a certain stand in this respect, namely that this election be preceded by accord. The aim is to achieve the interest of all the Lebanese. Today, our need is not of someone who will simply bear the title of president of the republic; we need someone who will work to build the republic.

The situation now is not normal, the state is not sovereign, and independence is not comprehensive. The vacuum in the presidency should be filled constitutionally. Everything in Lebanon has been ravaged; there is no army, no institutions, the Lebanese need a man to build the republic, not to preside over cemeteries. Not even a prophet can build a state unless he is given the means of construction. It is not a matter of competence, power, purity, honesty, or impartiality. The means of construction should be agreed upon, the Lebanese accord which precedes the presidential election (should) be put into practice by the presidential candidate, and every is asked to help him in the construction process, or at least not to obstruct him.

When the Lebanese people agree, the president will not face obstacles while building the Lebanese republic. If the election takes place without Lebanese accord, then political struggles will remain, and if he deviates to one party or to another, he will become the captive of this party of that. Thus, the proposal of the Amal Movement to achieve accord is aimed at ensuring the interest of Lebanon and the Lebanese. What is requested is an agreement on the broadlines and not on partial matters, and in order to have election for the presidency we should take into consideration two major electors, namely Damascus and the United States.

It is true that the MPS are the ones who elect the president, but these take into consideration new political trends, and there is a national appropriate line, led by Syria, which is followed at the same time by the nationalist and Islamic forces, as well as many MPs. If both Damascus and the U.S. agree on a candidate or on holding the presidential election, then this election will take place. We are not in support of a presidential election that precede national accord, but this does not mean that we are planning to obstruct this election. We declare that if accord was not achieved prior to the election, then each official will be directly responsible to managing the crisis. The Amal Movement will consider those who agree on having the election before achieving national accord, as responsible for managing the crisis for 6 more years.

[Question] Former U.S. National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane expected the situation in Lebanon to remain the same, even if the presidential election was held and a new president was elected. What is your comment and will the new president manage the crisis?

[Answer] We are in no need of McFarlane's estimations regarding the Lebanese situation. Such estimations are built on an American political method in this region. However, it might be better to have the election in Lebanon and to reach an agreement, until the course of events in the region are more suitable to resolve the Middle East issue.

Lebanon's issue cannot be separated from the issue of the Middle East. We are trying to help Lebanon resolve its economic and daily-living crisis. If the presidential election takes place, we would not be in need of McFarlane. Any election that is not based on accord is a continuation of the management of the crisis.

[Question] Do you think the Maronite appeal addressed by Bishop Khalil Abi Nader in the presence of President Gemayel, to President Assad, will positively reflect on relations between the Lebanese and Syrian regimes?

[Answer] Bishop Abi Nader is aware of the Lebanese facts and is well informed on the Christian issue on the level of real responsibility. He knows that Israel is the real enemy of Christianity in Lebanon and in the Middle East, and not the Moslem Arabs.

All Christian intellectuals very well know that Israel aims at deporting the Christians from the Middle East to replace them in the Arab economic scene. Undoubtedly many Moslems are anxiously awaiting for a true Christian awareness to evolve on the level of the political command in the eastern sector. In other words, there are Maronites who have views similar to mine, with respect to the distinguished relations with Damascus.

They agree on putting an end to the rule of arms and guns collaborating with Israel in the eastern sector. We feel that a breakthrough is in the offing in the eastern region and are ready to bet on a basic change in the present commands of the Christian militias which will coincide with Lebanon's Arab interest. We hope that this change will not result in a bloodshed as in the past, but will take place in a democratic manner. Such attitudes will pave the way for new relations between the Lebanese and Syrian peoples, and will allow for dialogue on the level of common interests between Damascus and Lebanon.

[Question] Do you believe that the camp war has actually ended following the lifting of siege by the Amal Movement around the camps or not. How will the Palestinian rejection to withdraw from east of Sidon be solved?

[Answer] This issue is related to the Amal Movement and the Palestinian side. As for the Amal Movement, the camp war was imposed on it by force, and during specific circumstances.

During the month of Ramadan, during central conferences of the Movement, and during specific political conditions manifested conflicts between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestine National Salvation Front. It was timed for political reasons. The camp war was a political war more than a military war.

It was waged during specific circumstances and for political reasons. Everybody knows that it was during a time of conflict between the Palestinians themselves on one side, and between the Arabs on the other side.

The Amal Movement was not able to stay away from the battle, as it was already involved in it, starting with the battles against the Murabitoun, then the support rendered to the Murabitoun by the Palestinians.

The Movement was forced to defend itself and to maintain its Arab nationalist stand with respect to the renewal of the UNIFIL mandate, and the cancellation of the 17 May Agreement. We do not believe in any peace with Israel, and when this war spread and destroyed the camps, the Arab brothers interfered, and we were pinning hope every time to reach accord. Finally the Movement launched an initiative on 4 September through its leader, and the Palestinian side agreed on this initiative.

But in spite of all that, the initiative was not implemented. They proposed reconstruction prior to the withdrawal. The Movement responded to the demands of the Palestinians who did not lose anything especially those under the rule of Yasser Arafat. The Palestine National Salvation Front still insists on the withdrawal from east of Sidon, and everybody knows the first initiative of the Movement, which later decided to present a gift to the Palestinians after their uprising in the West Bank, and declared that the camp war has ended. The gift was not for the Palestinians or for Yasser Arafat, but for the courageous and heroic resistance, which stemmed from the stones and from the will to survive, and to overcome cruelty. Such an uprising will liberate Palestine, and not the conferences held in Tunis and elsewhere. The Amal Movement considers its martyrs in the neighborhood of the camps, as martyrs of the West Bank, because we were fighting for the same goal.

The West Bank uprising is a part of the revolution of the Amal Movement against Israel. It is better for the Palestinians to withdraw from east of Sidon, otherwise the great uprising will make them look very little. As for us we shall not resort to arms unless we need to defend ourselves.

[Question] Amidst the declaration made by Minister Berri about the Israel's evacuation of 18 villages from their inhabitants in the South as an attempt to their annexation to the border strip, what are the measures to be taken to foil this design?

[Answer] There is the national resistance on one side, and diplomatic moves on the other side. Israel is present in the border strip, as long as Israel is supported, and actually present there, annexation is probably. There should be resistance, and the Movement insists on following up the struggle against Israel in all occupied territories, including the border strip. Certain operations were resumed after the end of the camp war, because this war was obstructing the fight against Israel. A follow up is imperative on the national resistance level and on the Lebanese diplomatic level.

It would have been better for "Sheikh Amin" instead of visiting Sudan, to liberate his land before devoting attention to his personal affairs abroad. Only when we reach a cabinet of accord in Lebanon, the diplomatic situation will be able to render help in this respect.

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## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### Trade Surplus Discussed

44000050 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English  
16 Feb 88 p 11

[Text] The UAE recorded a trade surplus of Dh10 billion in the first half of 1987 compared to Dh5.8 billion in the first 6 months of 1986, because of an improvement in oil prices.

The Central Bank's latest bulletin says oil exports reached Dh15 billion during the period against Dh12 billion a year ago. It was an increase of 25 percent. The increase in gas exports reached Dh2.5 billion from Dh2.2 billion, up 13.6 percent.

Oil exports fetched Dh40 billion in 1985 and gas Dh5.20.

There was an increase of 44.7 percent in the value of non-oil exports in the first half. Re-exports touched Dh5.5 billion, up from Kh3.8 billion a year ago.

Imports registered a modest rise during the 6 months—6.6 percent up at Dh13 billion from Dh12.2 billion.

The bank says that the above indicators point to improvements in the overall performance of UAE economy and further confirm its ability to maintain its balance of payments surplus during the rest of the year.

The surplus on current account was Dh8.7 billion, against Dh25.5 billion. The changes took place in the estimates of oil exports which had totalled Dh25.2 billion in 1986. There was an increase of Dh8 billion in the exports and re-exports to Dh37.7 billion. But the overall imports dropped by 1.7 percent to Dh23.6 billion.

In view of the increases in the value of currencies of countries trading with the UAE—with the exception of the dollar and some Asian countries the drop in imports value may have been accounted by a decrease in the volume of major imported goods.

The position of net capital accounts has changed, reflecting a net capital outflow of Dh3.9 billion in 1986, according to the Central Bank. The overall surplus in the UAE balance of payments in 1986 was Dh4.8 billion, exceeding the 1985 levels by over 81 percent to furnish evidence of the soundness of the external position of the UAE economy and also indicating the recovery from recession.

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## AFGHANISTAN

### Number of Schools Restored, Built in Herat Increasing

46000108 Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English  
23 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] Despite the attempt of the extremist elements to obstruct peace and progress, the conditions of education in Herat Province are satisfactory, thanks to the attention of the party and the government and cooperation of the people.

One hundred and thirty-four schools which were destroyed by the extremists have been repaired and restored and 31,478 students are enrolled in them said Mohammad Kazim Nasiri, head of Education and Public Health Department of the provincial committee of Herat.

Currently the construction of 12 schools, financed from the development budget of the Ministry of Education, is in progress in Enjil, Gozara, Adreskan, Shindand, Koshk, Kohsan, and Ghorian Districts. By the end of the current Afghan year some of them would be opened. The lands for these schools were donated by the people of the districts, Nasiri said.

The Executive Bureau of the provincial party committee has also instructed the party and state organs and the army units of the province to construct 11 new schools in the city and districts in the current year he added. Three of them have already been completed and the others would be ready by March end. According to the plan for HS 1366, 8 schools were to be rehabilitated for an enrollment of 6600, but as a result of the efforts of the party committee and the Education Department of the province, 34 schools have been rehabilitated with an enrollment of 9,812 students in the current year. About 270 students, who returned home from abroad were admitted to various schools in the province.

One teachers' training institute with 189 students is also functioning in the province.

High attention is also devoted to expanding literacy. There are now about 1,260 literacy learners functioning in the province. Of these about 430 courses were set up after the proclamation of national reconciliation. One thousand seven hundred ninety-two literacy learners completed their courses in the first 8 months of the current year.

Two functional schools with 252 learners and 1 workers complementary school with a strength of 76 are functioning in the province, he concluded.

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## INDIA

### Move Afoot To Link Jharkhand, Uttarkhand, Gorkhas

46001316 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
13 Feb 88 p 1

[Article by Soutik Biswas]

[Excerpt] Jhargram, 12 February: A move is afoot to "link" the Jharkhand and Uttarkhand movements with the Gorkhaland agitation in Darjeeling, according to highly-placed sources in the district administration. GNLF leaders have already visited this subdivision, a stronghold of the Jharkhand Party, and are keeping in touch with the local leaders.

The state secretary of the Jharkhand Sanjukta Sangarsh Morcha, Mr Monoranjan Mahato, admitted, "I had mooted such a link-up between the three movements initially. The actual aim was that the Gorkhaland leaders would highlight our movement in Darjeeling, and Jharkhand leaders would highlight the Gorkhaland movement in (other parts of) West Bengal."

Mr Mahato had met the GNLF president, Mr Subhas Ghising, at Silguri in March for discussions. Later, Mr Mahato met Mr Ghising again in Ranchi. A GNLF delegation visited Jhargram for further talks with the Jharkhand leaders in June.

Mr Mahato told this correspondent here, "I told Mr Ghising repeatedly to mobilise the intelligentsia of Darjeeling to support our movement. I told him to take the Gorkhaland issue to the intellectuals. He seemed to be convinced, but subsequent developments have been somewhat different."

Claiming that the Jharkhand, Uttarkhand and Gorkhaland movements were aimed against "oppression of the common man," Mr Mahato said his party did not support the Punjab agitation as it was "secessionist and outside the framework of declined their offer of arms as we are confident of winning the battle for a separate state with our bows and arrows."

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### Iraq To Pay Part of Debt in Oil

46001325 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
19 Feb 88 p 4

[Text] Dubai, 18 February (UNI): Iraq signed an agreement with India yesterday to pay \$200 million in oil during this year to clear part of the dues towards India for various construction projects.



It was the third agreement between the two countries for the 1983 deferred payment. The agreement was signed in Baghdad between the Iraqi transport and communications under secretary, Mr Ghassan Radhwan, and the joint secretary in the Indian External Affairs Ministry, Mr N.N. Renjen.

Various Indian private and public sector companies have executed ambitious development projects in Iraq worth nearly \$5 billion. While payments were made till 1982, Iraq sought a deferred payment agreement to clear \$600 million due for the following year.

Due to its war-torn economy, Iraq was, however, unable to pay even in 1984 and 1985, and discussions have continued between the two countries on the payment and oil pricing formula in view of the decline in the international oil market in the recent years.

According to a communication from the Indian embassy in Baghdad, Iraq has so far paid \$280 million in oil during 1986 and 1987.

Indian companies, like the Indian Railway Construction Organization, National Building Construction Corporation, International Airports Authority of India and Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited, have won admiration from the Iraqi authorities for their competitive and qualitative projects. The prestigious council of ministers building in Baghdad, a modern monument in marble, has been built by the Engineers Projects India.

Mr Radhwan and other Iraqi officials have visited New Delhi periodically to conduct negotiations, and another round of formal talks between the two countries begins when the Indo-Iraqi joint commission meets in Baghdad in April.

It may be noted that Iraq, which has been at war with Iran since September 1980 has entered into deferred payment agreements with other countries also.

Mr Renejen, who left Baghdad for new Delhi this morning, discussed with Mr Radhwan the possibility of further cooperation, including operation and management of various facilities and a step-up of Indian exports to Iraq to offset to an extent the balance of trade, which is largely in favour of Iraq.

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#### **India's Afghanistan Policy 'May Come Home to Roost'**

46001332 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
25 Feb 88 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 24 February—Even as India's Sri Lanka policy, particularly its efforts to enforce ethnic peace in the island through the army, has come in for

severe criticism at home, the country's policy on Afghanistan, specially its support for the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, is threatening to come home to roost.

Ever since it had been snubbed 8 years ago when it offered to help the Soviet Union to pull its troops out of Afghanistan, and with Pakistan and the United States closely aligning to help the Mujahideen to fight the Soviet and Afghan troops, 'India had willy-nilly bracketed itself with the Soviet Union on the Afghan issue, despite taunts and opposition at home and abroad.

India's justification for supporting the intervention of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan has been that the troops had been invited by the legitimate government of Afghanistan (this itself was questioned by many) in the background of intervention by foreign powers in the internal affairs of that country.

That surely is history, but the fact that India had been a strong and vocal supporter of the Soviet intervention is very much relevant now when there is every possibility of the Soviet moving out of Afghanistan. The moot question for India in the event of the Soviet withdrawal is whether the government that is eventually installed in Afghanistan would be as favourably disposed towards it as the current Soviet ally, Mr Najibullah's government.

And there is little evidence of concern for the fate of thousands of people of Indian origin in Afghanistan, engaged in cloth, jewellery or dry fruits trade once the Soviets move out. They are now branded Soviet allies for the fault of the Indian Government's policy. Couldn't they become victims later?

Reports reaching here suggest that the ruling PDPA, over the years of Soviet presence in that country, had sufficiently built up its cadres and extended its influence among the civilian population in the army. That partially explains the smug statements by the Afghan spokesmen in the past few days that the time had come for the Mujahideen to take up the challenge and prove whether they really commanded any mass support by returning to Afghanistan and taking part in elections.

#### **Tough Going**

The situation is still fluid but it is recognized that the going will not be smooth at all either for the Mujahideen or for the PDPA. India, which never lets go of an opportunity to become the "honest broker," be it reviving the international control commission in Kampuchea or sending emissaries to Iran and Iraq to end the Gulf war (that the efforts have not borne fruit is another matter), had, on Soviet pro-prompting sounded the former King Zahir Shah on taking over the role of Head of State to steer the future course of his country after the Soviet pull-out.

The former King would obviously want some sort of guarantee that this was the consensus among his people, not mere wishful thinking on the part of Soviet Union or its emissary, India. This acceptance is yet to come. On the contrary his return is opposed by some of the Mujahideen groups in Pakistan and even the 2 million refugees in Iran.

In the view of many, if India had not blindly followed the Soviet Union on Afghanistan, the country's relations with Pakistan would not have been as bad as it is today and that there would have been no need to try to match the ever increasing sophisticated arms supply from the United States to Pakistan, ostensibly for the Mujahideen.

The other aspect of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan of importance to India is that, as a consequence, an estimated 60,000 men from Pakistan's Army would be left free to be deployed along the Indian border. With part of Indian troops embroiled in Sri Lanka and a substantial portion trying to keep the Chinese at bay the burden on India would indeed be heavy.

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#### **Writer Predicts Worsening of Indo-Pakistan Relations**

46001331 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
18 Feb 88 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] The stalemate, caused by the no-contact syndrome, in Indo-Pakistan relationship is certain to deepen as a result of Islamabad's stand on Afghanistan in the wake of the Soviet announcement on troops withdrawal.

The bilateral contacts, planned in November last year snapped after the first meeting in the series—between the secretaries of the economic ministries of the two countries on trade matters—was gone through some 10 weeks ago. The foreign secretaries who were to resume their dialogue soon after on political issues—arising from India's proposal for a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation and Pakistan's plea for a no-war pact—have not met so far and nothing is scheduled in the near future. Similarly, the plans for talks between the home secretaries on steps to check clandestine traffic across the border, and between the defence secretaries on Siachen glacier, have not materialised.

Put off Indefinitely: The contacts between the officials were to culminate in a meeting of the Joint India-Pakistan Commission at the ministerial level here in February or March. It, naturally, stands postponed indefinitely.

The secretaries of the economic ministries appeared to have resolved the prolonged deadlock on trade but in the absence of follow-up steps that 'gain' is of no use. The two sides agreed to enlarge the list of import-export items from 41 to 250 and although it did not meet India's plea for ending the restrictive trade regime, there was some hope of advance. The outlook is bleak again.

As if this was not bad enough, the two countries may drift further apart as a result of differences on the latest turn of events in relation to Afghanistan. India welcomed the Soviet initiative in the belief that it would pave the way for the early resolution of the Afghan problem. Pakistan, on the other hand, rejected it thus adding to India's suspicions about the real intentions of Gen Zia ul-Haq's policy on Afghanistan.

India's positive reaction implied its endorsement of the various components of the Moscow's plan, including the decision to de-link the establishment of the coalition government in Kabul from the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and political settlement. According to Pakistan strife would not end and the Afghan refugees would not return home without a new government in Kabul. Opposing the unconditional pull-out of Soviet troops, it said: 'the withdrawal of troops must be accompanied with arrangements to ensure peace and stability inside Afghanistan. Otherwise, the tragedy of Afghanistan will continue.'

'Pathetic': Viewed from New Delhi, Pakistan's lot is pathetic—as is evident from the decision of its foreign minister, Mr Zain Noorani, to go to Washington with a plea to the U.S. not to accept the Soviet move (for pull-out) in the absence of a 'satisfactory' transitional arrangement. Pakistan, it is felt here, is either not interested in the political settlement of the Afghan problem (because that will mean an end to its position as a 'frontline' state and the benefits that go with it or wants a fundamentalists' regime to be installed in Kabul. None of these scenarios is comforting to New Delhi.

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#### **Paper Interviews CPI-M Politburo Member Surjeet**

46001322 Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
17 Feb 88 p 9

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] Madras, 16 February—The problem of terrorism in Punjab cannot be tackled through negotiations with the extremists and the solution lies in arousing the people against the extremists and ensuring that they get no protection, observed the CPI(M) Politburo member, Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet here today.

"The ball is now in the Centre's court: it should remove certain irritants and take steps to faithfully and expeditiously implement the Rajiv-Longowal agreement," he said in an interview to THE HINDU.

Mr Surjeet held out the warning that trying to woo the extremists would only destroy the unity of India; that was so because the forces behind them were hardcore terrorists and separatists, instigated and helped by foreign powers to destabilise the country.

The daily killings in Punjab, the CPI(M) leader said, had become a routine affair that no more stirred the conscience of the people. "Perhaps, the people have lost their hope that there will be a solution at all." Several of the Opposition parties felt it was Mr Rajiv Gandhi's headache and so they took it lightly. And the Prime Minister was interested only in winning elections; it was he who was responsible for "messing up" the Punjab issue.

Instead of calling an all-party meeting and taking the opposition leaders into confidence for finding a solution to "this political problem," the Prime Minister was trying to bring the Jain Muni into the picture, Mr Surjeet observed. "I do not think that Mr Rajiv Gandhi is serious at all to settle it."

Disapproving the 'peace move' of Acharya Sushil Muni which had the blessings of the Prime Minister, the marxist leader said that the five Sikh high priests the Jain Muni was asking to be released were committed extremists and separatists and were not going to give up their support for the Khalistan demand. "We do not understand how by talking to such persons, the Punjab problem can be solved."

He pointed out that Mr Prakash Singh Badal was released recently with the hope that he would be helpful in finding a solution. "But what has happened is that after coming out, he has been fully utilised by the extremists." Every day, public meetings were being arranged where, after Mr Badal addressed huge gatherings, the stage was captured by Khalistan extremists for preaching separatism. "Probably, Mr Badal goes away before the separatist propaganda, but he is not averse to it." Similarly, he said, Mr Darshan Singh was encouraged in the hope that he would be useful in contacting the extremists, but ultimately he ran away.

**'Not enough protection':** Mr Surjeet Singh said that only the two communist parties were bearing the brunt of the attacks by extremists; already 35 of the CPI(M)'s leading cadres had been killed. "We are not getting sufficient protection from the Government also, and we have been forced to move many of our cadres from the villages to the cities and provide them protection." In spite of the attacks, the extremists had not been able to destroy the unity of the working class, and the CPI(M) was able to bring one lakh people from Punjab to participate in the rally in Delhi on 9 December, he said.

The veteran parliamentarian was sure that the right solution lay in creating an atmosphere where the extremists would be turned away by the people. He said the people were definitely not for extremism or separatism; "I am talking about the Sikhs also." They were, in fact, fed up with the extremists, but "at the same time their anger against the Centre is so much that they cannot be activated against the extremists."

**Release of detenus:** To solve the Punjab problem Mr Surjeet said, two things were to be done by the Central Government. First, it should release the 'Jodhpur detenus' who were arrested inside the Golden Temple during the Bluestar operation. A majority of them, he said, were innocent people who happened to be there as pilgrims. The Longowal agreement itself had provided for their release but the Government had kept quiet so far.

The second, he said, was that steps should be taken to implement the Rajiv-Longowal agreement in respect of the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and the resolution of the water dispute (among Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan) to ensure that Punjab was not deprived of its existing usage. "I am sure a solution can be found which will satisfy the people of Punjab and Haryana." If the people of the predominantly agricultural State of Punjab were deprived of their present usage of water, "nobody is going to solve the problem," he warned.

The Centre's action so far, he said, had made the people of Punjab feel that they would not get justice: "This should be changed."

**Tripura polls:** Commenting on the recent Tripura Assembly election outcome, the CPI(M) politburo member said that although everybody expected the Left Front to win, it lost mainly because of the manipulations of the Congress(I) at the polls and the Centre's "unusual act of declaring the entire State as disturbed and deploying armed forces."

From the beginning, he said, the CPI(M) was fighting in defence of the unity of the country against the TNV separatists who had organised an insurgency there. "Some attribute our defeat to our anti-TNV stance, but that is only to pressure us to give up our line."

The Central and State Governments had come to an understanding on measures to counter the TNV activities aimed against the non-tribal Bengalis. The proposal was that the border areas of the State would be declared disturbed and the Army deployed there after the elections were over. "We did not want the Army to be present while elections were taking place." But, suddenly two days before the elections, the entire State was declared disturbed and the Army was deployed.

**Recount turned down:** A section of the population, the Bengalis, who were the target of attack by the TNV extremists, were made to think that they would get



protection with the deployment of the forces, Mr Surjeet explained. "This 1.5 per cent of the electorate switched to the other side and that really changed the outcome." The Congress(I) had also manipulated the results in its favour in at least three constituencies which were, in fact, won by the Left Front candidates, and in two others where the Congress(I) candidates were declared elected with narrow margins, the Left Front's request for a recount of votes was turned down.

Mr Surjeet said: "Of the State's 13 lakh voters five lakhs are with our mass organisation." Citing the election figures, he said that "taking the State as a whole, we have polled more votes than the Congress, and our voters remain with us."

Replying to a question, the marxist leader observed that friction was bound to develop between the Congress(I) and the TUJS because the two parties differ in their views regarding the non-tribal Bengalis. While the TUJS, the tribal-based organisation, was against the Bengalis, the Congress(I)'s support had come from the Bengalis.

"For our part, we will concentrate on consolidating the gains the Left Front Government brought to the people such as the cooperative movement and pressing the Congress(I) to fulfil all the promises it made during the election," Mr Surjeet said.

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## **Papers Report on Problems of Defense Financing**

### **Experts' Analyses**

46001312 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
18 Feb 88 p 5

[Text] The need to 'rationalise' the country's defence expenditure in terms of ways and means of managing it within 'affordable' limits has been suggested by experts at the institute for defence studies and analyses, reports PTI.

The approach of rationalisation in itself "demands greater outlays in defence research and development and speedy acquisition of technology to achieve autonomous capability," they feel.

With some of the equipment in the Indian inventory getting outdated and manufacturers discontinuing production of many systems like the Canberra aircraft, India has been forced to go in for new generation equipment which are costlier, a study on 'trends on India's defence expenditure' says.

According to the study the process of modernisation so far has been following a pattern of replacements; that is, one particular equipment is replaced by another machine of a new generation or improved variety.

The study also suggests that the levels of defence expenditure of any country should be seen, not in absolute terms, but in relation to its Gross National Product (GNP) and the strategic environment relating to security in the region around it.

It points out that being essentially an arms importing country, India started diversifying its sources of supply quite late. Since the beginning of this decade, India started acquiring arms from various non-socialist countries, particularly western Europe.

But, the cost of these imports were four to six times higher than similar equipments purchased from socialist countries.

Indigenous development and production of defence equipment "should go a long way in increasing affordability, even if the present overall costs rise," the experts say, adding that this approach "will ultimately increase the GDP."

Commenting on the burgeoning defence expenditure from Rs 167.5 crore in 1948-49 to Rs 12,512 crore in 1987-88, the experts say that such spending should be kept at optimum levels so as to ensure maximum possible support to the developmental process without adversely affecting defence preparedness.

Citing as an example the 1960s decade when India fought 'two and a half wars' with China (1962), with Pakistan (1965) and major skirmishes at Nathula with China experts point out that the nation's developmental process was adversely affected in terms of food scarcity and a dwindling savings rate.

"The process of economic development needs an extended and dependable period of peace and security if it is to achieve meaningful results," they say.

Commenting on the threat perceptions, the experts say that a nuclear China, a U.S.-backed regime in Pakistan which has substantially expanded its offensive capabilities since 1971, the recent developments in the Persian Gulf and the consequent increased presence of the U.S. and NATO forces in the Indian Ocean region have to be taken into account.

Along with this, the armed forces not only have to guard the 7,500 km long coastline and the 3.2 million square km of landmass, but they also have to protect underwater assets like minerals and marine life which fall within the exclusive economic zone of the country.

After the 1962 Indo-China war, there was a spurt in the defence expenditure from 12 to 14 per cent of government expenditure before 1962 to 22 per cent in 1963-64, the study points out.



In terms of GNP too, the defence expenditure increased from two to 3.5 per cent and has been hovering around 4 per cent since then. It crossed the 4 per cent mark only twice, once in 1963 and again after the 1965 Indo-Pak conflict, the study says.

Till the beginning of this decade, pays and allowances, stores and ordnances factories accounted for 89 per cent of the total defence expenditure, while the rest went towards expanding the capital base of the armed forces besides maintaining the existing forces.

During and after the Janata years, the government increased the allocation towards expanding the capital asset base of the armed forces.

The overall net capital expenditure (NCE) increased more than 22 times compared to the levels prior to 1962. While the NCE allocation towards the Army increased by ten times and for the Air Force by six times, allocation towards the Navy increased by a phenomenal 90 per cent between 1962-63 and 1986-87, the study says.

But despite the importance of defence research and development, particularly in terms of the ambitious projects like the light combat aircraft, the main battle tank, communications and others, this sector has been getting barely 2.1 per cent of the expenditure on an average during the entire period, it states.

The study also points out in this regard the recommendations of a government-appointed experts committee in 1976 which said defence expenditure should not be over 4 per cent of the GNP, it should be rationalised and its thrust should be towards self-sufficiency.

#### **Pressures on Ministry**

46001312 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
25 Feb 88 p 17

[Article by L.K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, 24 February—A marginal real-term increase is expected in the coming defence budget notwithstanding Siachin, IPKF operations in Sri Lanka and the official perception of the multiple threats to the nation's security.

Considering the resource crunch, India cannot sustain a growth of the magnitude that marked last year's defence budget, with allocations showing an increase of 43 per cent over the original estimates for the previous year and an increase of 22.7 per cent as compared to the revised estimates.

The provision of Rs 12,512 crores for defence by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, last year shocked the pacifists and even some balanced critics who saw a new undesirable trend in such a runaway growth.

#### **Navy's Needs**

However, the government can hardly ignore the "deteriorating security environment" and the current phase of modernisation of the armed forces. The requirements of the navy have been given a new priority and it is likely to get more funds even if this is at the expense of its sister services.

Till last year's allocations, the defence expenditure had shown since 1981, an annual growth rate in real terms of about 5.6 per cent.

This expenditure may be substantial when compared to that on some of the social services, but certainly it is not been unusual when seen in relation to the country's GDP and the responsibilities of the armed forces.

In view of the resource crunch and public criticism of high defence expenditure, some genuine and some contrived efforts have been made to keep the allocation down. The contrived efforts can be detected only by expert accountants who know how to shift allocation from one head to another.

#### **Defensive Ministry**

The defence ministry appears to be on the defensive this time while seeking more funds. This is because of the domestic/political atmosphere where there has been—a breakdown of consensus over defence expenditure, a lack of unanimity over the advisability of the military operations in Sri Lanka, and a raging controversy over the defence deals.

The defence ministry has been under multiple pressures. The resource crunch became a reality for it at the first signs of the drought. The ministry was asked to slash expenditure by Rs 250 crores. The cut has been enforced faithfully though its impact can always be debated upon by experienced administrators.

It was not difficult to enforce the drought-induced cut, since the purchase of new equipment, always the first casualty in any economy plan, can always be deferred. It is easy to reduce the investment in future for which no one is held answerable.

There is some fear though that the tempo of modernisation may receive a setback if the shrill campaign against the defence expenditure spiral continues.

Thanks to an innovation introduced in the last budget, it has become difficult for a service to divert funds earmarked for capital expenditure, to meet the ever-growing needs of maintenance. Economy on maintenance expenditure was not possible earlier, since funds could always be diverted.

Economy in defence expenditure this year was also facilitated by the controversial defence deals, in spite of, as some say, the unexpected burden resulting from the failure of the foreign policy.

In the wake of the controversial defence deals, the bureaucrats have been shying away from tricky negotiations for the purchase of foreign weapon systems and equipment.

Unfortunately, India happens to be a major arms importing country. The financial year is ending without the defence ministry having decided on the purchase of an advanced jet trainer, additional submarines, vital communication and radar systems, and other items that have been pending decision for long.

Besides major equipment, the procurement of hundreds of small items has been held up because of the ban on dealing with foreign agents. A proposal to partly rectify this situation has been pending before the cabinet for long, even as the army hospitals continue to do without some imported equipment.

Hospital equipment, being freely imported by other agencies, cannot be bought by the army since it cannot deal with foreign agents.

The defence ministry has been silent over the variety of estimates being circulated by the critics with regard to the expenditure involved in the IPKF operations in Sri Lanka, the action in Siachin and the cost of constant vigil there, and the defence exercises held last year.

#### **Fanciful Estimates**

Some of the estimates are quite fanciful but the ministry is in no position to present the correct picture even if it wished to do so. The cost of any military operation is hard to determine since the bulk of the expenditure on the service and equipment and even on fuel is as much a feature of peace-time as it is during an operation or an exercise.

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#### **Reportage on Developments in Defense Production**

##### **Defense Research Projects**

46001313 *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
29 Feb 88 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 28 February: The Defence Research and Development Organisation, which serves as the focal point of all scientific and technological aspects of national security, has several important achievements to its credit. The Prithvi surface-to-surface test missile launched by it on 25 February is only one aspect of the multifaceted activities of the organisation.

The DRDO provides the necessary technological support to the armed forces, ranging from knowhow on underwater to high altitude special warfare equipment. It has produced equipment worth Rs 1,385 crores. The 1986087 allocation for research and development is Rs 420 crores, which is 4.12 per cent of the total Budget.

The organisation has a number of projects in hand in the area of aeronautics, including the ambitious light combat aircraft project (LCA), the pilotless target aircraft (PTA), and the remotely piloted vehicles (RPV). The Aeronautical Development Agency, which is coordinating the LCA project, has made considerable progress. Fabrication of a wind tunnel model, technical evaluation, review of the development programme of the GTX-35 VS engine and construction of a polar vision mock-up are some of its achievements.

It has already tested the prototypes of the PTA, the RPV and the gas turbine engine. It has also completed the design and development of indigenous boosters for launching the PTA.

Another major on-going project is tanks. The organisation has developed the prototype of the main battle tank, Arjun. The first of these participated in the Republic Day parade. In addition, the combat efficiency of the Vijayanta tank is being improved through the incorporation of a high-power engine, modern fire control system, new ammunition and add-on armour.

Several research projects have been undertaken in developing radar systems, electronic warfare and engineering equipment.

#### **High-altitude vegetables**

The laboratories have also developed suitable techniques for growing vegetables in high-altitude conditions of the central Himalayas and in the cold desert of Ladakh. It has developed techniques for raising broilers at heights of more than 3,000 metres. Improved breeds of sheep, goats, pigs and rabbits are also being introduced. Studies on cross-bred cows with higher yield of milk, particularly in high altitudes have been undertaken.

The DRDO has also undertaken projects for development of non-conventional energy sources. A high-altitude module with non-conventional energy supply is under evaluation. Naval research is another important area, where the DRDO is working on sonar technology, marine acoustics and oceanography.

##### **Indigenous Technology for Army**

46001313 *Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English*  
29 Feb 88 p 17

[Article by Dilip Chaware]

[Text] Indian military researchers are confident of proving to the world that adoption and development of indigenous technology suitable for our armed forces will make the country self-sufficient to meet any challenges as far as conventional warfare is concerned.

This was the impression of a group of journalists which visited various defence research establishments around Pune last week.

While two of the four establishments deal with ordnance and weapons, the third is engaged in training defence personnel in advanced science and technology and the fourth is developing constructive aspects of military science with the participation of academic institutions and the private sector.

The four establishments were the Explosive Research and Development Laboratory (ERDL), the Armament Research and Development Establishment (ARDE), the Institute of Armament Technology (IAT) and the Research and Development Establishment (Engineers) or R&D E.

The establishments work under the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO). Their efforts, over the years, have been to satisfy the growing needs of our forces and promote induction of sophisticated war machines.

In several fields, the work done is of a pioneering nature and scientists at all the establishments said that the government's policy has been encouraging with a fair degree of autonomy.

The ERDL director, Dr K.R.K. Rao, for example, claimed that the development of a suitable sustainer propellant and a polymeric inhibition system was a major technological breakthrough in the field of missile warfare. The ERDL is the only establishment in the world to handle the wide range of explosives and its efforts so far have resulted in saving over Rs 100 crores in foreign exchange.

Explosives is the only field where the country can claim self-sufficiency and the credit goes to ERDL, according to an official publication.

The other major contribution of ERDL is to build process development, and pilot plant design and fabricating facilities, as well as expertise for setting up production plants, thereby bridging the gap between R&D and production. It also collaborates and assists a large number of defence establishments.

The main battle tank (MBT) 'Arjun' is at present the major assignment with the DRDO and the ERDL has made important contributions to this project by successful development of energy propellant, protective liner and semi-combustible cartridge cases.

The unconventional propellant developed by ERDL gives the maximum range and punch to tank ammunition. As the power of ammunition increases the barrel life of the gun decreases. However, the development of a protective liner increases the gun's barrel life. Another

significant achievement is the development of the semi-combustible cartridge, which is made of explosives and cotton, retaining only a mutilic cup instead of the original full brass body. This has resulted in improving logistics and saving money, since the amount of brass used is considerably reduced.

The ERDL's progress in the fields of missile target, pilotless target aircraft and remotely piloted vehicle also has been spectacular. One achievement is of developing a 180 second-burn duration for a missile target, with a complete rocket system, this has been accepted by the services.

In combat engineering also, the ERDL has not lagged behind. The charge line mine clearing (personnel) equipment developed by it can provide a safe lane for vehicles, half metre wide and 180 metres in length. It has manufactured adequate quantity of this equipment for the army's minimum operational needs. At present, it is busy developing a similar equipment with improved mine breaching capability both in length and breadth.

Incendiary ammunition is perhaps the most important development.

#### **New Surface-to-Air Missile**

46001313 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
28 Feb 88 p 5

[Article by S. Srinivasan]

[Text] Hyderabad, 27 February: The "Akash" surface-to-air missile which is likely to go into production in the early nineties constitutes the third major missile project undertaken by the Defence Research and Development Laboratory (DRDL) here. The country's first indigenously designed and developed guided missile systems, Nag and Trishul are expected to roll out of the DRDL assembly lines in the next decade.

The "Akash" uses the advanced RAM rocket propulsion system which attains higher energy levels using low volume and low weight propulsion systems. This is achieved by the Ramjet principle where the missile draws air at low pressure from the atmosphere and converts it into high pressure for oxidation. The air intake is specifically designed for missile configuration and flight parameters.

The DRDL has already carried out static tests on integrated RAM rocket propulsion systems and it has been found that the energy level is double that of conventional systems.

The main advantage of "Akash" over other missile systems is its "area defence capability." Unlike other weapon systems offering "point-to-point" defence, the "Akash" ground control will be able to scan the sky and look for several targets. It will have a battery of missiles to attack multiple targets simultaneously. The entire



operation will be computerised and the reaction time is as low as 15 seconds. It is also programmed for "active homing" at the end of a flight to chase its target till its finish.

The DRDL, which took up missile production in 1983, is actively working on several technology packages so that the sub-systems of the missiles are updated. There are constant efforts towards improving and perfecting rocket technologies (like dual thrust, RAM rocket); guidance systems (like strap-down inertial navigation and homing); composites, high-performance high explosives and other missile software and power systems.

The developments in the field of missile technology assume greater importance in view of the decision of western nations not to transfer missile technology to Third World countries. Seven nations—the United States, Japan, France, West Germany, UK, Italy and Canada—recently announced the decision not to transfer technology even for peaceful space and atmospheric study programmes.

The building of a missile is a complex procedure. It uses different composites and alloys for different parts depending upon its application. High strength maraging steel is used for the rocket motor chamber with composite propellant. Its airframe has "flow formed" aluminum alloy sections and the nose tip is of fibre-reinforced plastic radome.

The missile works on the principle of command guidance from a ground radar system and on-board control systems. Unlike the conventional missile systems, the new systems will have launcher mounted on a single carrier vehicle.

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#### **Army Chief on Importance of Mechanized Infantry**

46001314 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
25 Feb 88 p 7

[Text] Ahmednagar, 24 February—Mechanised infantry had an important role to play in conventional warfare as nuclear weapons only served as a deterrent, Gen K. Sundarji, chief of the army staff, said here yesterday.

Gen. Sundarji told newsmen that he had progressively converted 23 battalions to mechanised infantry and these would take care of the army in the years to come.

However, the possibility of a nuclear war through some kind of misunderstanding could not be ruled out and it was correct to be prepared.

The mechanised infantry could give a true protection against a nuclear blast as infantry combat vehicles had a capacity to prevent air from being contaminated by radioactive matter. They could give protection from nuclear and thermal radiations.

He said the mechanised infantry in Sri Lanka was playing a peripheral role for the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF). He said the enemy used high explosives of up to 100 kg and as a result, tanks could get damaged.

The chief of the army staff explained the role played by the tanks like BMP-1 and BMP-2 developed by the Soviet Union and also the infantry combat vehicles (ICVs). He said in the first decade of the next century, the Indian army would develop its own ICV.

Turning to the progress made by Indian scientists and the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), Gen Sundarji said the Indian missile "Nag" was in an advanced stage of trial. It would be ready for product in a couple of years. This was a third generation missile guided by radio command and had a capacity to destroy a tank at a distance of four km.

Gen Sundarji said the army had in its pipeline a low-level short-range surface-to-air missile "Trishul." It was in an advanced stage of technical trials. At the moment, the army was using Soviet-made missiles. These would be replaced in future, he said.

Another long-range missile "Akash" which is being developed indigenously in design and material, was superior to most missiles now available, he said.

Gen Sundarji said the Indian army has developed its own surface-to-surface missile, "Prithvi," which has a range of 150 km. It could take various payloads. He said in the field of missiles, the country was doing exceedingly well and it certainly was a success story.

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#### **'Quark-Gluon Plasma' Conference Ends in Bombay**

46001338 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
16 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] Bombay, February 15 (PTI)—The state of the universe, microsecond after its creation, continues to baffle physicists and scientists the world over.

However, scientists attending the just concluded first five-day international conference on "Quark-gluon plasma" (state of matter) here were hopeful to arriving at, by the turn of the century, the temperature (in laboratory) necessary to conduct further research on the "Big Bang theory" relating to creation of the universe.

Active participation of Indian scientists in the experimental field was sought during the conference.



The early phases of the "Big Bang" through the plasma phase, and the later development of the universe depends on this crucial temperature. This would help in precisely defining the history of the "Big Bang", scientists observed.

"Once this transition temperature is established, detailed investigation can be made on other properties of this new state of matter", they said.

Quarks and gluons are the fundamental particles of matter, not only on earth, but throughout cosmos. The state of matter referred to as "quark-gluon plasma" (QGP) built up of these particles is believed to have been the state of the universe just microseconds after its creation.

But the marvels of multi-million dollar accelerator development at European Nuclear Research Centre (CERN), Geneva and Fermilab in Chicago, have recently made it possible to create an appropriate environment in the laboratory, by colliding two heavy nuclei at extremely high energies.

The main Indian contribution in QGP has been theoretical so far, except for air shower experiments by Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) searching for exotic signals from astrophysical compact objects like X-ray binaries and pulsars where Quark stars may exist.

The theoretical work on signals which would signify the presence of the occurrence of phased transition from normal barrier state of matter to a QGP phase has been carried out by scientists at the cyclotron centre in Calcutta.

There is also an attractive experimental programme to study heavy ion collision (so far sulphur and oxygen are used) in nuclear emulsions to study the QGP effect by various groups of scientists from Jaipur, Chandigarh and Jammu, in collaboration with CERN.

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#### **Pant Concerned Over Naval Activity in Indian Ocean**

46001324 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
19 Feb 88 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 18 February: The defence minister, Mr K.C. Pant, today expressed caution over the enhanced naval activity in the Indian Ocean and said over 100 warships were physically present in its vicinity.

Mr Pant, who was addressing the meeting of the parliamentary consultative committee, made special reference to the acquisition of weapons by the Pakistan Navy and said these factors need to be taken into account while planning India's naval defence.

Mr Pant said the increased naval activity in the Indian Ocean has potential to cause damage to India's economic and defence interests. He said not only warships, but several aircraft carriers, and amphibious assault groups were present in the region, forcing India to respond adequately.

He said Pakistan had recently received massive foreign military assistance. Its Navy had acquired tactical missiles, submarines, destroyers and other force multipliers, apart from the Harpoon missiles which it already possessed.

The defence minister emphasised that India was a peace-loving nation and wished to maintain friendly relations with all countries in the neighbourhood. But the country could ill-afford not to take note of the strategic developments in the Indian Ocean region. He said, "We have to respond adequately to the challenges to our security."

Mr Pant said the Navy had entered a new era of propulsion by acquiring the nuclear-powered submarine, INS Chakra. He assured the members of the committee that the newly acquired submarine did not carry nuclear weapons, nor does it create any risk of nuclear radiation for the crew, the civilian population or aquatic life. The members of the committee welcomed the acquisition of the nuclear-powered submarine, which is on lease from the Soviet Union.

He said the expanding merchant fleet (capacity over 70 lakh tonnes, annual overseas trade over Rs 25,000 crores) had created new responsibilities for the Navy. Similarly, the country's off-shore oil resources had an enhanced output (Rs 6000 crores in a year) and needed to be protected. Besides, India had 7,963 km of island territory and an exclusive economic zone spread over 20 lakh square km.

Mr Pant said self-reliance was one of the important aspects of the Navy.

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#### **India Objects to Zia Remarks on Kashmir**

46001326 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
19 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 18 February: India today took strong objection to the Pakistan president, Gen Zia-ul-Haq's "venomous" comments against the country and his "unacceptable references" to Kashmir and Muslims here at an international conference in Islamabad on Tuesday. The India ambassador to Pakistan, Mr S.K. Singh, has taken up the matter with the Pakistan foreign office.

Addressing the conference on Islamic unity under the aegis of the London-based Ikhwan ul Musalmin, President Zia had referred to Kashmiris as being subjugated by another country. In the course of his speech, he had said the struggle of the Muslim majority in Kashmir deserved attention.

"What face should we Muslims show to the world when we are fighting among ourselves, when Kashmiris are under subjugation, when Palestinians are being oppressed and when the land of Afghans has been captured by a superpower," Gen Zia is reported to have said at the conference.

An external affairs spokesman, lambasting the reference, said President Zia had once again chosen to "spit venom" and make totally "unacceptable references" to Kashmir and Muslims in our country. The spokesman said Gen Zia claimed to be on a peace offensive with India but rarely missed an opportunity to arouse passions on both sides. President Zia says he wants normalisation of relations with India but does not shy away from using force in Siachen, the spokesman said.

The spokesman said the Pakistan president was devoting his efforts to thwart the process of an Afghan settlement when it has reached a crucial stage. The spokesman admitted that Gen Zia had his own internal problems and compulsions.

Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and the only issue that remains to be resolved is the vacation of Indian territory illegally occupied by Pakistan, the spokesman said.

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#### **Delhi Accused of Distorting Sarkaria Panel Report**

46001317 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
14 Feb 88 p 8

[Article by Nikhil Chakravarty]

[Text] It has become commonplace of Indian politics today that the ruling party at the Centre dominates, if not monopolises, the state-owned media, both radio and television. Apart from the hi-fi presentation of a larger-than-life image of the Prime Minister, done with almost brazen-faced vulgarity, any fair-minded observer will have to concede that the Opposition is practically dimmed out even in the coverage of news in these media. It may very well be said that the public has almost resigned itself to this state of affairs, and the government mediemen who indulge in such distortion of information thereby lose their own credibility.

A recent example shows that this type of disinformation has now invaded even the summarising of important documents of national concern. The time-honoured practice has been that the report of a commission meant

for publication is presented to the press and the public in its full, and together with such a report, a fairly responsible summary for the press is also issued to facilitate the newsmen covering the publication of such a report. Generally, such summaries are authenticated by the secretariat of such a commission and then released through the government agencies such as the Press Information Bureau.

But even this convention is now violated with impunity by the government agencies concerned. The manner in which the report of the Sarkaria Commission on the Centre-state relations has been treated by the government agencies is shocking indeed. On 30 January when this report of the commission was released, the government distributed to the press an official summary of the findings and recommendations of the commission. This official summary was not issued by the commission or its secretariat but was prepared and released by the government itself.

What was the upshot? Almost a unanimous reaction was that the commission has recommended the need for a strong Centre. Those in the government who had done the summary very well knew that this was only part of the truth, not the whole truth. But they did not hesitate to misrepresent the commission in the bargain. The fact of the matter is that the commission while endorsing the need for a strong Centre, has equally strongly pleaded for strong states. In its view, the two are not contradictory to each other. Rather, they supplement each other. In a sense, the commission has elaborated the connotation of the term, Union, as our republic is known in the Constitution—the union of the Centre and the states.

It is of course possible to argue that the commission has not gone beyond the four walls of the Constitution, that it has made no recommendation for changing the basic structure of the Constitution. But that really was not its job. Its terms of reference do not enjoin this upon it. Given this position, the commission has gone very far in trying to accommodate the claims and aspirations of the states. An extremely important feature of the commission's report is its emphasis on the need for decentralisation. This is the running thread of the report. At one place it points out that since "there is a general tendency towards greater centralisation of powers, there is special need in a country like India for a conscious and purposive effort to counter it all the time. There is considerable truth in the saying that over-centralisation leads to blood pressure at the Centre and anaemia at the periphery. The inevitable result is morbidity and inefficiency." It warns that centralisation, instead of solving, actually "aggravates the problems of the people."

At another place, the commission makes a thought-provoking observation: "The survey of the developments of the past thirty-seven years brings out clearly two diametrically opposed trends. On the one hand, a number of factors, primarily centripetal economic forces, have strengthened the impulses of centralisation,

modernisation, growth and development. On the other, very strong centripetal forces have been unleashed in the country on account of the break-up of the old political order, split of national parties, ever-increasing exploitation of populist slogans and caste, language, money and muscle power in elections. Corruption in many walks of life, emergence of linguistic chauvinism and fissiparous tendencies—all these point to increasingly rough weather ahead for our ship of state."

The changes suggested by the commission are far-reaching. They relate to the appointment and role of the Governor, the question of appointment of judges, the reservation of state bills for consideration of the President, the use of the extraordinary powers under Article 256, 257 and 356, the establishment of an inter-governmental council, the setting up of a national economic and development council, right down to the role of zilla parishads and municipal corporations with respect to socio-economic planning and development and many other issues of concern.

It is a massive report of nearly 5,000 typed pages. It has covered a wide field. It is true that the job of summarising it is not easy. But that is no reason why the government agencies make a highly selective summary, practically leaving out many issues which are not very convenient for the present central authorities to face. It is also a rather unflattering commentary on our press that instead of depending on the official summary, few of them have taken the pains of making a detailed study of the report before commenting on it. Thus our legislators and a number of parliamentarians are left in the dark about the contents of this important report since, with all due respect to the members of the august body, few of them nowadays have kept up the habit of making serious painstaking study of the subjects on which they speak and debate.

Among the many weighty passages, it is worth picking up one which gives almost a historical evolution of the ruling party:

"At the time of Independence, the Congress party occupied a predominant position in national life, leaders and many in the rank and file of this party were old freedom fighters who had come from the legal, medical and academic professions... The Congress party formed the government at the Centre and in the states for nearly two decades after independence. In these conditions, Union-state relations under the Constitution were essentially an intra-party arrangement of the Congress. Differences between the state governments and the Union government were quite easily sorted out at the party level. Stalwarts at the Union and those in the states acted with a sense of mutual respect and accommodation. As the old guard of the pre-independence days began to vanish from the political scene by sheer efflux of time, the composition of the Congress party underwent a change particularly in the states. The new political leaders were distinctly different from their predecessors. They were

younger and not steeped in the Gandhian traditions of the pre-independence era. Political life was not seen, as in the days of the freedom struggle, as a sacrifice for the nation. Rather, it became a political career and means of reaching for power and pelf in varying proportions. It was no longer the lawyer or doctor sacrificing a lucrative practice or the teacher throwing up his calling to join politics. It was the local leader commanding money, muscle-power and caste or communal loyalties who came to the forefront of state politics. In a sense this process was inevitable with the growing vacuum at the top and the new mores and ethos of electoral politics which afforded no place—gave no quarter—to those who did not acknowledge the new rules of the game. Starting with national parties in 1947, a span of mere twenty years witnessed the rise of regional parties and the split of the national parties. The developments of 1967 came to stay."

It thus brings out the baneful effect of the replacement of "ideology-oriented intellectuals" by "vote-bank-based political leaders" in the power structure, over the years. This has resulted in populism with the new generation of politicians finding it essential "to combine money and manpower with populist slogans, to capture and stay in power."

Whoever has cared to read the Sarkaria commission report would concede that it is one of the most serious documents taking the totality of our political life into account. It has correctly refused to reduce the problem of Centre-state relations to mere constitutional palliatives. It has analysed the political, social and economic inputs into it. For a student of contemporary Indian scene since Independence, it provides plenty of food for thought. It deserves to be made compulsory reading for our administrators as well as for our teachers of political science. It is indeed a pity that the government's media agencies in their hurry to please the present establishment have failed to grasp its significance.

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**Paper Reports Gandhi Speech in Hyderabad**  
46001320 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
16 Feb 88 p 1

[Excerpt] Hyderabad, 15 February (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today announced a package of concessions for farmers in the country.

Addressing the Bharat Krishak Samaj here, he said the collection of penal and compound interest on crop loans would be deferred.

Mr Gandhi said in cases where accumulated interest had exceeded the principal amount, the interest would be waived.



In areas where there was drought for two consecutive years, short-term loans would be rescheduled for seven years.

In areas with drought for three consecutive years, short-term loans would be rescheduled for ten years.

The Prime Minister asked the new agriculture minister, Mr Bhajan Lal, who was also present, to convene a meeting of all chief ministers to discuss the problems faced by the farming community.

He said consultation with states was a must because most of the problems raised by farmers were state subjects. "All reasonable demands of farmers will be considered sympathetically," he said.

Mr Gandhi said the crop insurance scheme would also be reviewed. The country had been divided into 15 agro-climatic zones for better agricultural planning.

He also called upon the farmers to break the stagnation in which food-grain production had fallen in the last few years.

The target production of 175 million tonnes of food-grains by the end of seventh plan should be adhered to, he added.

Mr Gandhi assured the farmers that the government would continue to provide subsidies to agriculturists. But he urged them to ask the question; should there not be a proper balance maintained between subsidies and prices?

Agreeing that subsidies were essential to ensure that farmers were given facilities to produce the most essential commodity, food Mr Gandhi said, "We must also know the losses we are suffering."

Already, losses from irrigation alone amounted to Rs 700 crores every year, besides the hundreds of crores lost by electricity boards, banks and other institutions.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by the surface transport minister, Mr Rajesh Pilot, the newly sworn-in minister, Mr Harikrishna Shastri, the minister of state for personnel, Mr P. Chidambaram, and the minister of state for steel and mines, Mr Ramanand Yadav.

Mr Gandhi said the impact of agricultural losses was felt right through the economy and the poor suffered the most because these losses reduced the resources meant for their development.

### Price Support

The Prime Minister reaffirmed the government's commitment to pay remunerative prices for farm produce and said it was necessary not only to steadily increase procurement prices but also to hold down the cost of agricultural inputs.

Noting that fertiliser prices had not risen above the 1981 level, Mr Gandhi said this involved a virtual doubling of the fertiliser subsidy from Rs 4,500 crores in the sixth plan to Rs 9,000 crores in the seventh plan.

In a large number of states, he said, water rates had remained the same for several years.

He questioned the propriety of demanding a virtual doubling of the prices of sugarcane when the factories "would just not be able to bear" such a steep increase.

"Nor is it responsible to demand the waiving of arrears of unpaid electricity bills or exemption from any sort of penalisation for non-payment of bills."

### Kumudben to Stay

Mr Gandhi said he was not replacing and Andhra Pradesh governor, Miss Kumudben Joshi, despite a resolution of the state cabinet calling for such a step.

He said, "the Andhra Pradesh cabinet makes a lot of resolutions. We are not going to act on all of them."

Asked if the governor had met him after the resolution, Mr Gandhi said, "not in that connection."

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### Gandhi Meets Press After Swearing in of New Ministers

46001321 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
16 Feb 88 p 1

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 15 February—The Prime Minister today hinted at another expansion of his Council of Ministers, though it appears this will take place after some time, presumably after the budget session of Parliament.

Speaking to reporters informally after the swearing-in ceremony of three Ministers, Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha, Mr Girdhar Gomango and Mr P. Namgyal (who could not take the oath of office yesterday) Mr Gandhi admitted that the South was not adequately represented in his Cabinet. He promised to remove the disparity.

When his attention was drawn to the fact that there was only one Minister in the Cabinet from the South, the Prime Minister remarked that representation to the Council of Ministers was, on the whole, adequate.

Replying to questions, he said a few gaps had been left after yesterday's reshuffle, and some of the major States still remained unrepresented. "This has to be corrected," he added.

"I am trying to look at the States as a whole. We have taken up three States only. For other States, we will do it later," he said.

When told that Punjab had no representation as Mr Gurdial Singh Dhillon had been dropped from the Cabinet, Mr Gandhi replied: "Ask the Rajasthan people from where Mr Buta Singh comes."

Another reshuffle will be necessary because at least five Ministers of State will retire from the Rajya Sabha in April after the end of their six-year term. They are Mr Ramanand Yadav, Mr Yogendra Makwana, Mr H.R. Bhardwaj, Mrs Sarojkharde and Mrs Sushila Rohtagi. The sixth, Mr M.M. Jacob, will retire in July. Unless they are all renominated and are returned to the Rajya Sabha in the coming biennial elections, the Prime Minister will have to think of their replacements.

Besides, a total of 70 members are retiring from the Rajya Sabha between April and September, and a number of these vacancies will be filled by new Congress(I) M.P.s.

In the changes that have been carried out yesterday, it is evident that some portfolios, such as the External Affairs Ministry, will have to be strengthened with the appointment of more Ministers. Some of the Ministers have additional charges of portfolios that will presumably be manned by new men.

**PTI adds:** The Prime Minister saw no objection to a partyman holding dual posts in the organization and the Government, wherever it was necessary. He said the one-man-one-post rule did not apply everywhere. It depended on the circumstances. People were holding dual posts only where it was necessary. For instance, the PCC(I) presidents in non-Congress(I) ruled States were holding ministerial posts at the Centre as well.

Mr Chandulal Chandrakar, M.P., has been appointed the Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee(I) president in place of Mr Digvijay Singh, who has resigned it was announced here today.

The reorganization of some Pradesh Congress(I) Committees will take place within a week, the AICC(I) general secretary, Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, said today.

The Prime Minister said today he was not replacing the Andhra Pradesh Governor, Miss Kumudben Joshi, despite a resolution of the State Cabinet calling for such a step. He told reporters that "the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet makes a lot of resolutions. We are not going to act on all of them."

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**Northeast Tribe Seeking Separate State**  
46001333 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
25 Feb 88 p 7

[Text] Guwahati, 24 February—Altogether three lakh Zeliangrongs, a minority tribe spread over Assam, Manipur and Nagaland have united under the banner of the Zeliangrong Peoples Convention (ZPC) to seek a separate state.

Talking to THE TELEGRAPH, the ZPC secretary, Mr D.P. Panmei, who is a district council member in Manipur, said the state government's insensitive and indifferent attitude to the ethnic aspiration of the Zeliangrong people were intolerable and their tolerance had reached a limit.

He said "The ZPC is committed to the adoption of democratic, peaceful and constitutional means for the attainment of their cherished dream. The Zeliangrong inhabited land is beautiful but underdeveloped due to the neglect and the exploitation by vested interests in Assam, Manipur and Nagaland."

The proposed Zeliangrong homeland covers an area of 12,000 sq km and covers the subdivision of Nagaland, the North Cachar Hills and some parts of the eastern Cachar district of Assam and the western hills of Manipur.

The Zeliangrong movement history dates back to 1930 when they revolted against the British. The struggle was led by Mr Haipou Jadongang and Rani Gaidinliu. Mr Jadongang was captured and executed at Imphal in 1931. Rani Gaidinliu who was only 17 years old took over the leadership but was soon arrested and imprisoned for life by the British.

The ZPC today says that since Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru released Rani Gaidinliu soon after Independence and since it was he who referred to her as the "Child of the Hills" the government should have paid heed to the Zeliangrong problem even before the ZPC was formed in 1980. Rani Gaidinliu and other leaders have been demanding the integration of the Zeliangrong areas into a political unit. The Rani had talks with Mrs Gandhi in 1972 and 1973 and with Mr Morarji Desai in 1977.

After the ZPC was formed, the Rani again discussed the matter with Mrs Gandhi in 1982 and was told that since the Congress did not command a two-third majority in

Parliament at that time, it was difficult to introduce the necessary legislation. The ZPC made a declaration the same year that a state within India would be the homeland of its people.

The ZPC-sponsored bandhs in their strongholds last September and December evoked a good response. They also met Central leaders last month and are seeking a discussion with the centre on the issue.

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**Text of Venkataraman Opening Speech to Parliament**

46001330 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
23 Feb 88 p 5

[Article by Jai Hind]

[Text] Following is the text of President R. Venkataraman's address to the joint session of Parliament on Monday, reports UNI.

It is a privilege for me to address you for the first time as president. I welcome you to this session of Parliament. I particularly felicitate the new members, who for the first time, include a representative from the newly constituted constituency of Daman and Diu. I give my good wishes to the people of Goa, which has attained statehood.

A few weeks ago, we were deprived of the presence of a great soul. A link with the stirring days of the freedom struggle is no more. A close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a symbol of the spirit of non-violence and secularism. His life was a saga of unsurpassed courage and sacrifice. I also pay tribute to the other colleagues who have left us. Including former Prime Minister Charan Singh and Shri M.G. Ramachandran, chief minister of Tamilnadu, who through his farsightedness worked for strengthened national unity.

Our vision of India is of a land whose unity and integrity are invulnerable to external threats or internal weaknesses—where the ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism enshrined in our Constitution, are fully realised,—where social justice prevails, with equality of opportunity for every human being,—where science and technology have helped to wipe out poverty and disease,—where economic development does not exhaust the bounties of nature, but created wealth in harmony with it,—where industrialisation and modernization are fused with moral and spiritual values,—where all religions and cultures flourish in an atmosphere of mutual respect and cooperation.

We want an India whose interaction with the nations of the world is dedicated to peace and international cooperation and a new world order based on equality, freedom and justice.

In the last 40 years, we have progressed along this path, illumined by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, we shall adhere to it, come what may, with the determination and courage instilled in us by Indira Gandhi.

Self-reliant progress: the struggle for independence was the precursor to the struggle for self-reliant progress, the struggle for social emancipation, the struggle to recover for India her traditional, historic place in the vanguard of human civilization. Our achievements have been notable. More notable still has been the consistency of our endeavour, the sincerity of our effort, the dedication and hard work of our people. Our primary goal has been the rapid amelioration of poverty and its eradication.

The key to the alleviation of poverty lies in a rapid and sustained expansion of employment opportunities in both rural and urban areas. Our achievements have been notable. More notable still has been the consistency of our endeavour, the sincerity of our effort, the dedication and hard work of our people. Our primary goal has been the rapid amelioration of poverty and its eradication.

The key to the alleviation of poverty lies in a rapid and sustained expansion of employment opportunities in both rural and urban areas. Our strategy has been to combine direct intervention in favour of the poorer segments of society through asset-creation and employment creation anti-poverty programmes, with faster and more diversified growth under-pinned by a massive programme of quality education.

We seek to realize the full potential of our unmatched human resources while harmonising the country's educational profile with the growth requirements and employment needs of our economy. We have moved purposefully towards the achievement of our aims. The pace of progress has markedly quickened in the last 7 years. The Eighth Plan must provide for even faster growth, the maximisation of employment opportunities, and the vigorous reduction of regional disparities. We need both a higher rate of growth and a composition of growth which matches the basic needs of our people and the evolving requirements of our economy and society.

We have pursued growth within the framework of two crucial parameters—the freedom of our country and the freedom of our people. To this end, we have built strong institutions to guarantee the democratic rights of our citizens and to overcome the many challenges to our independence, integrity and nationhood. Efforts have been mounted, from outside and within, to subvert, suborn and undermine our democratic political system. Our even vigilant people have thwarted all such efforts.

The failure of the rains has tested the resilience of our economy and the strengthening of our purpose. Our farming community and indeed the nation as a whole, has responded to this serious economic challenge in a



most heroic manner. The people are cooperating magnificently with the government. The nation's economic performance is a tribute to the soundness and strength of our development strategy.

**Campaign against terrorism:** With a determined and concerned national effort, the challenge of terrorism is being met in Punjab and elsewhere. Following president's rule in Punjab, the law-enforcing agencies have harnessed the resurgent will of the people of Punjab and mounted a determined campaign against misguided anti-national elements. The foremost task is to crush terrorism and isolate the secessionists. The terrorists have lately stepped up their depredations. They have to contend with the high morale, regenerated professionalism and strict vigilance of our security forces. They also have to contend with the people's refusal to be brow-beaten or cowed. There can and will be no compromise over the nation's integrity and unity. In the search for a non-violent political solution of the problem within the framework of the Constitution, government stands ready for a dialogue with all those who eschew violence. The nation mourns the loss of innocent lives. We salute those who have laid down their lives in the cause of national unity.

In Tripura, the extremists stepped up their campaign of terror. The escalated violence and mounting loss of innocent human lives left government with no option but to declare Tripura as a disturbed area. We are determined to put down violence there.

We are unflinching in our determination to root out communalism, fundamentalism and other fissiparous tendencies. Committees of the National Integration Council have been active in devising measures for the promotion of communal harmony. The Centre and the State must make sustained efforts to implement the 15-point programme for the welfare of the minorities.

**Welfare of the disadvantaged:** We are committed to the elimination of the consequences of centuries of ostracism, discrimination and oppression. We have reorganised the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and strengthened the office of the commissioner. The importance we attach to the welfare and development of these disadvantaged sections of our society is reflected in the Seventh Plan outlay of over Rs 14,000 crore in their favour. It is a matter of particular satisfaction that coverage of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under the IRDP has reached 41 percent far exceeding the target of 30 percent.

During the year, elections were held in Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, West Bengal, Haryana, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Tripura.

The provisions of Article 356 of the Constitution were invoked in Tamilnadu in view of the situation that developed there in January. Elections in the state are proposed to be held at an early date.

The Commission on Centre-State relations which was setup under the chairmanship of Shri Justice R.S. Sarkaria has submitted its report. The views of Parliament, state and members of the public will be taken into account before arriving at decisions.

**Education policy:** The national policy on education is our pledge to the coming generations and our gauge to the future. Quality education for all is the key to national development. A programme of action for the implementation of the policy was presented to Parliament in 1986. Major steps were taken during the year in pursuance of the policy. Our concern for primary education is paramount. Operation "Blackboard" was launched to improve the quality of instruction and the infrastructure in primary schools. Particular attention is being paid to the educationally backward states.

The massive programme for training 5 lakh teachers annually has been continued. A national core curriculum is being developed to impart an awareness of our heritage and a sense of national cohesion. The number of Navodaya Vidyalayas has risen to 206. An analysis of admission tests to these schools for 1986 shows that 41 percent of the selected children belong to families below the poverty line, 77 percent come from rural areas, and the percentage of children from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is much higher than the percentage in the total population. The scheme for free secondary stage education for girls is now being implemented in all states. A comprehensive schemes has been drawn up for the vocationalisation of education. Government are working on a number of measures to enhance the quality of higher education and technical education.

The promotion of the small family norm is a high national priority. Last year we recorded 20 million acceptors of contraceptive coverage—the highest level ever achieved. The problems of family welfare and health are interlinked they are, therefore, being tackled through an integrated set of measures. Immunisation programmes have accelerated over the last 2 years.

**Woman's emancipation:** The emancipation of women from all forms of prejudice, discrimination and abuse, deprivation and oppression is a national duty and a national task. Their full and equal participation in the nation's life is a national imperative. Government have prepared a perspective plan up to the year 2000 to deal with the problems of women. Government have also reconstituted the National Committee on Women to a review and advise on policies and programmes for women. Government have also reconstituted the national committee on women in the unorganised sector. Its report is expected shortly.

Following the barbaric incident at Deorala, the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act 1987, was passed. Government are determined to root out this evil practice. These efforts should be backed by the widest possible mobilisation of public opinion.

A very significant feature of our changing society is the transformation taking place in the country's demographic profile. As a people, we are growing younger. Therefore, meeting the needs of our youth and fitting them for their role in the nation's life are matters of high priority. The Nehru Yuvak Kendras have been galvanised into a high level of activity. Intellectual and physical discipline, and a sense of enterprise and adventure, are being instilled in lakh of our boys and girls through the NSS, the Bharat scouts and guides and the National Cadet Corps. The Sports Authority of India has done commendable work in affording opportunity to the athletic prowess of our youth.

**Industrial relations:** Harmonious industrial relations were a significant feature of the year. We compliment both labour and managements on their constructive attitude. We want to promote a participation management culture in industry. Government intend to bring forward a comprehensive bill on industrial relations and a bill for major changes in the Employee's Provident Fund Act.

While segments of our work force have organised themselves to secure and safeguard their rights, the overwhelming majority of our working people are unorganised and, therefore, exploited. Data about their conditions of work is inadequate and action to ameliorate their lot unsatisfactory. We are deeply concerned about their welfare and progress. We are committed to the improvement of their conditions, we have, therefore appointed the National Commission on Rural Labour. We have also framed a national policy on child labour. Voluntary agencies are being associated in the identification and rehabilitation of bonded labour.

The 20-point Programme has infused new hope in the countryside. It accounts for 30 percent of the total plan outlay for the current IRDP, NREP, and RLEGP are our major instruments in the attack on rural poverty. In the last 7 years, IRDP has assisted 23.4 million families belonging to weaker sections and other backward groups below the poverty line. Women now constitute 16 percent of the beneficiaries. During the period April 1987-January 1988, NREP and RLEGP generated 471 million mandays of employment.

Water for the first time has been recognised as a vital national asset. The new National Water Policy derives from the national consensus on this point. This paves the way for effective planned development and efficient utilisation of our national water resources.

**Environment protection:** The Ganga Action Plan has caught the nation's imagination. It is in full swing in 25 towns and cities. The protection of the environment has emerged as a major national priority. Environmental standards have been notified for 24 priority industries. Parliament has already amended the law on air pollution. Stringent legislative action is planned to protect our forests and prevent the pollution of water.

Government undertook legislation in the winter session of Parliament to establish a National Housing Bank. One of its major tasks will be to finance housing the weaker sections. In this session, government will bring forward a national housing policy for providing dwellings for the unsheltered millions.

A major item of the 20-Point Programme is the development of a more responsive administration, especially in its interface with the weaker sections. A series of workshops of district collection on the subject of responsive administration is being held. The machinery for the redressal of public grievances is being strengthened. Special programmes are being organised to train officials of the district planning cells.

Plans to provide speedy and inexpensive justice for the underprivileged made headway, a committee, with the Chief Justice of India as patron-in-chief, has been entrusted with the implementation of legal aid schemes.

A new impetus was given last year to the drive against smuggling, foreign exchange racketeering and drug trafficking. The Central Economic Intelligence Bureau is coming down hard on syndicates of smugglers and racketeers.

**Drug abuse:** The menace of drugs is assuming worrying proportions. If we are not careful, the flower of our youth could be endangered, the physical and moral fibre of the nation could be sapped. We are determined to fight this evil, the narcotics Control Bureau made major seizures of drugs during the year. Programmes have been launched for the de-addiction and rehabilitation of the unfortunate victims drug abuse.

We are consciously directing science and technology to the removal of poverty, particularly, in rural India. This is the aim of our five technology missions. The tasks assigned to these five missions are—to provide potable water to all villages in the country, to immunise 20 million pregnant women and 18 million infants against vaccine-preventable diseases, to impart functional literacy to 30 million adults, to augment the production of oilseeds and edible oil, and to provide increased access to telecommunication services. These missions have formulated their operational plans for 1988-89 and 1989-90.

**Technological Development:** Government have adopted the approach of integrated energy for rural areas. Natural and perennial sources of energy like solar, wind, biomass, mini-hydel sources and improved chulhas are being popularised.

Oil exploration and exploitation are being intensified. Refining capacity will be further augmented. A centre for high technology has been established to acquire, develop and adapt modern technologies in refineries. The first section of the HBJ pipeline was completed during the year.

Significant strides have been made in electronics. India has emerged as one of the few countries with its own technology for manufacturing electronic exchanges. Software exports are shaping up.

In the nuclear science, we are among the few with a master of the complete nuclear fuel cycle for the production of nuclear power. A landmark in this area has been established too. The first Indian Remote Sensing Satellite, designed and developed by the by the Indian Space Research Organisation (IRSO), is being launched next month by a Soviet launcher. The second flight of the Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle with SROSS-II satellite will be launched in April. In June, our communication satellite INSAT-IC will be launched on the French Ariane launcher.

**Indo-Lanka Accord:** In July 1987, we concluded the historic Indo-Sri Lanka agreement which has been welcomed in Tamilnadu and all other parts of India as the harbinger of peace in Sri Lanka and justice of the Tamil minority in the country. The agreement has been internationally acclaimed as an act of the highest statesmanship.

The provisions of the agreement meet all the legitimate aspirations of the Sri Lanka Tamil minority while ensuring the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. The agreement paves the way for durable peace and stability in that country. It meets important security concerns of our land strengthens non-alignment in our region. As provided for in the agreement, and in response to the urgent request of President Jayewardene, the Indian Peace Keeping Force was sent to Sri Lanka.

We pay tribute to our gallant soldiers. To those who have made the supreme sacrifice, we pledge that their sacrifice shall not be in vain. We are firmly resolved to secure the full implementation of all provisions of the agreement. We are giving further momentum to the processes envisaged under it. We are ensuring that the objective of achieving a durable solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is realised in full measure.

**South Asia cooperation:** Regional cooperation in South Asia is an important dimension of our foreign policy and of growing significance in our region. Under our chairmanship, regional cooperation was consolidated and several major initiatives were promoted. The third summit at Kathmandu carried forward the process. We must realise the immense untapped potential for South Asian cooperation.

The peoples of India and Pakistan share much in common. We wish the people of Pakistan well. We want to promote trust and friendship through great interaction between our peoples. We hope the Government of Pakistan will reciprocate our sentiments and help create the atmosphere for enduring peace and friendship. Unfortunately, our efforts in this direction have been hampered, and many of our initiatives thwarted. Pakistan continues

its clandestine efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. They also continue to assist terrorist and secessionist elements in India. Is this the path of friendship and cooperation? My government still believe that reason and good sense will prevail and the Pakistan Government will make fresh assessment of its policy towards India.

We attach importance to building friendly relations with China. Outstanding issues have to be resolved in an amicable manner, consistent with our national interest. It is important to maintain peace and tranquility along the border.

**Afghanistan initiative:** We support the continuing efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations on Afghanistan. There are signs of positive movement, although hurdles are being put in the way of settlement. We welcome the announcement made the General Secretary Gorbachev regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops in accordance with the stipulated schedule. We hope the forthcoming proximity talks at Geneva will lead to a final settlement. We have been in touch with the parties concerned. We will work together with them to ensure the status of Afghanistan as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country.

The travails of the Kampuchean people have caused us much distress. We have followed with sympathy and deep interest the efforts of the Kampucheans to rebuild their country, protect their independence and sovereignty, and safeguard their Nonaligned status. We are helping in the peace process. We have contributed towards bringing together those who must jointly work out a solution to the Kampuchean question. We shall continue our efforts in cooperation with the parties concerned.

**Palestinian issue:** We have been deeply sympathetic to the cause of the Palestinian people since the days of our freedom movement. The partition of India and the partition of Palestine took place in the same year. We have stood by the Palestinian people through their trials and tribulations and the terrible suffering they have undergone. We deeply deplore the brutal repression of Palestinians by Israeli forces in the occupied territories. There can be no solution that ignores the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. They must have a state of their own in their homeland. To find a lasting solution, an international peace conference should be immediately convened, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and others concerned.

The Iran-Iraq war is a matter of great sorrow. It has led to an increasing volatile situation in our neighbourhood and the proliferation of external military presences in the region. We shall continue our work with others in the arduous search of peace.

**Apartheid:** Apartheid is a blot on civilization, repugnant to our commitment to the unity of the human family. Since Mahatma Gandhi's early experiments with truth in South Africa, the elimination of racial discrimination



has been an integral part of our freedom struggle and as yet an unfulfilled mission of our foreign policy. Apartheid survives because of the economic and military sustenance which pretoria receives from a few rich and powerful countries. The only way of ending this abomination without too much bloodshed is through comprehensive, mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We have striven for this at the UN, Non-aligned and in Commonwealth forums.

All Commonwealth countries, with one exception agreed at the Vancouver Summit last October to intensify their sanctions against apartheid. The Africa fund, which we conceived of as a practical measure of support, has received a gratifying response from countries all over the world.

The moves in Fiji to deprive people of their rights solely on a racial basis have caused deep resentment. Fiji's Constitutional arrangements must ensure fair and just representation in Parliament for all communities.

We welcome the agreement signed in Guatemala by leaders of five Central American countries. We earnestly hope the agreement will lead to a just and lasting settlement ensuring the security, sovereignty and independence of all states of the region.

Indo-U.S. relations: There has been substantial progress in our bilateral relations with the United States of America, particularly in the technological and economic fields. The prime minister had wide-ranging talks with the U.S. president. We continue to impress upon the United States the seriousness of our concern about the supply of armaments of Pakistan notwithstanding that country's relentless pursuit of nuclear weapons.

India's relations with the Soviet Union have always been warm and friendly. The Delhi Declaration of November 1986 affirmed the common commitment of both countries to nonviolence and peaceful co-existence. In the last 3 years, we have enlarged and enriched the content of our relationship. There has been an unprecedented increase in high-level visits, an unparalleled expansion of trade, and new dimensions and new vistas added in areas such as science and technology, further expanding our already wide-ranging cooperation. The mutual goodwill of our peoples has found spectacular expression in the festivals held in the two countries. During the year, the prime minister of India visited the Soviet Union and the prime minister of the Soviet Union visited India.

Honourable members, with the united endeavour of the nation we can meet with confidence the challenges that confront us and accomplish the tasks that lie ahead. We shall be faithful to the ideals and goals of our republic. We shall place the national good above any sectional interest.

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## **Allegations in Zail Singh 'Sunday' Interview Examined**

### **Foreign Scheming Claimed**

46001334 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
29 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] Calcutta, 28 February—The interview given by former President Zail Singh to the weekly SUNDAY has confirmed the allegation of the communist parties that a deep-laid coup was being attempted by the anti-national forces on the eve of the last presidential election.

In his interview Mr Zail Singh has claimed that "they" were ready to spend Rs 30 to 40 crore to ensure his election as the rebel presidential candidate, against Mr Rajiv Gandhi's nominee.

Mr Zail Singh flatly refused to identify the forces he defined as "they." He said that he may even not name his backers in his autobiography, which is half finished, in view of the national interests involved.

The CPI and CPI-M circles here maintain that behind the agitated, unguarded and rather naive opposition forces, lurked foreign destabilisers. Operating through known pro-imperialist forces, their ostensible aim was not merely to dismiss the Rajiv Gandhi Government through a presidential order, but to stage a coup and install "a right wing dictatorship and smash the democratic system as was done in Pakistan," these circles allege.

These circles point out that twice such attempts were made. First by trying to misguide the former president to dismiss the prime minister and declare emergency and then by provoking him to contest as rebel presidential candidate, and buy-up votes with massive money power, by exploiting the confusion in the Congress and the opposition.

The communists claimed that they foiled both the moves. In the beginning, communist circles feel, even some opposition parties misunderstand the firm stand of the left parties. But as more and more facts are now coming to light, even these opposition forces are beginning to appreciate the left's stand.

### **Controversy Reopened**

46001334 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
29 Feb 88 p 8

[Text] Ever the shrewd politician Giani Zail Singh has once again thrown a spanner in the works of the entire political class in the country with his interview to SUNDAY magazine. For reasons known only to himself, he has reopened a controversy that had kept the nation on tenterhooks for several months preceding the presidential election last year. The publication of his letter to the prime minister last March had set in motion developments which, had they not been checked in the nick of

time, could have exposed the uppermost echelons of India's polity to grave dangers of destabilisation. For, at stake in that controversy was the president's "right" to dismiss the prime minister for his alleged improprieties. In his interview to SUNDAY the Giani has now acknowledged what was widely suspected at the time the controversy erupted, viz. that he may have been a willing accomplice of certain forces which were determined to oust the prime minister through extra-constitutional means. There can be no other interpretation of the Giani's statement that he had come under "tremendous pressure" to dismiss Mr Gandhi. In fact he has gone even further to state that the entire opposition (barring the communists) as well as "33 percent of the ministers of the Congress government" exerted pressure on him to seek term as president.

Nor is this all. Giani Zail Singh has gone on record to state to those who were determined to topple Mr Rajiv Gandhi had gone so far as to offer to spend between Rs 30 crores and Rs 40 crores for the presidential election, should he have chosen to contest against the ruling party's candidate. All this is heady stuff which can only revive and indeed lend credence to the conspiracy theory that had made the rounds following the publication of the Giani's 9 March letter. It is true that the Giani has raised more questions than answered in the SUNDAY interview. For example, he has refused to reveal who brought "tremendous pressure" to bear on him to dismiss Mr Gandhi or, again, who were the persons who promised to mobilise such vast sums of money—Rs 30 crores to Rs 40 crores—for his re-election. As if this refusal is not enough to fuel speculation, he has stated that in his forthcoming autobiography he has decided to "leave out those things which will cause an explosion." What explosion? The Giani prefers to keep the nation guessing. How then does one account for the content and timing of the interview? No matter which way one looks at it, the purpose appears to have been two-fold. First, to project his image as a "responsible" president who did not buckle under "tremendous pressure" because, for all the alleged indignities he suffered at the hands of the prime minister, he chose to remain faithful to the "oath of office" of president which compels him "to act responsibly." In the second place, the Giani appears to have decided, now that he has stepped down from office to reestablish his credentials as a quintessential congressman, even at the risk of embarrassing those in the opposition who, according to him, had egged him to dismiss the prime minister or to run for re-election. It is otherwise difficult to explain his allusion to "Rajiv Gandhi's ministers" who had agreed to vote for him, or to the fact that he did not wish to "break away from the traditions of the Congress which were established by Mahatma Gandhi."

The non-communist opposition and all those—whether in the corporate world, in the press and in the world of sundry godmen and international racketeers—who sought to subvert the constitutional process will have a great deal to answer for in the light of the Giani's

interview. The nation now knows better what sordid intrigue lay behind the feverish war waged against "corruption in high places." In that sense the Giani's self-serving interview to SUNDAY may well have rendered a useful service. It has raised vital questions about the nexus between the votaries of a "new moral order" and persons in government who once enjoyed, or who still enjoy, the confidence of Rajiv Gandhi. The Giani's interview must of necessity lead to a grim reappraisal of our recent political past. In particular, it should lead to a keener understanding of the role played by those who defended the higher interests of the nation when these were in danger of being jeopardised in the pursuit of dangerously partisan ends. This newspaper can, in all modesty, claim to be one of those who defended the interests of the nation and the state.

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**Writer Examines State of Sino-Indian Relations**  
46001323 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
19 Feb 88 p 8

[Article by Bhabani Sen Gupta]

[Text] On 17 November last year, at the end of the eighth round of talks in New Delhi between officials of India and China, a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry announced that India "intends to reconstruct relations with China and build a favourable climate of mutual trust and confidence." The impression created by the eighth round was that Sino-Indian relations would move forward at a faster pace than before towards normalization. The leader of the Chinese delegation had a meeting with Rajiv Gandhi, while the entire delegation had a full session with Natwar Singh, the Minister of State for External Affairs, who looks after relations with China.

The Press and the public were given to understand that normalization of relations in trade and commerce, cultural exchanges and scientific and technological cooperation would no longer remain hostage to the unsettled border issue. For all practical purposes, the border issue would remain frozen, though negotiations for its settlement would continue. The joint statement issued at the end of the talks declared that the two sides would ensure that the border remained peaceful and tranquil pending a settlement.

#### IMPATIENCE

In the last three months, there has been hardly any movement in improving India-China relations. The new Chinese Ambassador to India, Tu Guowal, speaking at a function at Teen Murti House last month, gave vent to China's impatience with this situation. What the Ambassador said could be summed up in one sentence: it will be wrong to assume that the border issue has become a non-issue and that our two countries may choose to remain where they are.

Why this great inertia on the part of the Indian Government with regard to China? As far as one can probe the not-too-forthcoming official mind, a new strategy had been outlined last year to restructure relations with China. The strategy was to separate the border issue from the rest of the bilateral relationship; to ensure that no border incidents took place, that the status quo was maintained, and, at the same time, to engage in a major bilateral effort to expand the relationship and provide for periodical meetings between leaders of the two governments.

Why, then, has no initiative been taken by India in three months? The only explanation one can think of is that the Prime Minister is so preoccupied with domestic political issues and India's peace-keeping role in Sri Lanka that he has not been able to address himself to the China issue. The absence of a Cabinet Minister for External Affairs makes it impossible for the foreign office to come up with strategic or even tactical initiatives for the Prime Minister's approval. Mr Natwar Singh is an industrious man with a wealth of diplomatic experience, but he is still uncomfortable in his political robes and, in any case, as a life-long foreign service bureaucrat, he cannot be expected to come up with bold, imaginative idea. Besides, most of the foreign policy decisionmaking has been shifted from the foreign office to the Prime Minister's office. With the policy planning unit virtually abolished, there is hardly any mechanism for forward thinking on foreign policy. To put it bluntly, no one or no group in the Government is engaged in tuning Indian foreign policy to significant international changes lurking on the horizon.

In several ways, the climate for pushing our relations with China on to the track of goodneighbourliness is quite positive. China publicly appreciated India's diplomatic-potential stand on Tibet and it goes to the credit of the foreign office that no one was seduced by the suddenly articulated American concern for human rights in Tibet. No incident has taken place along the border since the alleged Chinese intrusion into the Sumdorong Chu valley in Arunachal Pradesh in 1986. The Chinese have not dismantled the improvised helipad, and have proceeded with building a road connecting Wangdung in the valley with the border. However, this activity is justified by the Chinese with the claim that the valley is north of the actual line of control, a claim that the two sides have not agreed to verify on the ground if only because the line of control has not been finely and precisely drawn; nor are the two sides entirely in agreement on where it actually lies.

In another direction, too, China seems to have gone along with an Indian role. It is now known that for more than a year, India has been quietly trying to help in a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue. India's friendly relations with Vietnam give Delhi a certain clout. Indian diplomacy has also had the firm backing of the USSR. India was able to help bring about the two meetings in France in December and January between

Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Hung Sen, the Prime Minister of Kampuchea. The next two rounds of talks are to be held, if all goes well, in Pyongyang and New Delhi. Indian diplomacy could not be such a success if the Chinese did not go along with it.

## MANIFESTATIONS

It should be only right for India to take advantage of these two manifestations of a positive Chinese attitude towards Delhi to initiate diplomatic negotiations to normalize Sino-Indian relations. If Mr Gandhi cannot find time to visit Beijing, or if the fact that he is Prime Minister stands in the way of a visit at this time, he can appoint a Cabinet Minister with plenipotentiary powers to visit Beijing on his behalf and upgrade the talks to the political level. The Finance Minister, Mr N.D. Tiwari, paid an informal visit to Beijing in 1987 and met his Chinese counterpart: he would be the right choice to act as the Prime Minister special envoy. Alternatively, the Prime Minister could appoint a Foreign Minister and entrust him with the job on a priority basis.

There are reasons to believe that the Chinese would welcome an Indian initiative at this time. New strains are visiting China's relations with the USA. Some weeks ago, the U.S. Defence Department listed China as a "hostile" country. This took Beijing by surprise. When reporters asked for Beijing's reaction, an official spokesman merely said, "We have taken note of the action." The Chinese are in no mood to admit that their relations with the U.S.A. are getting sour; they publicly admit of no problem between the two powers other than on Taiwan. However, the Chinese had to take a serious view of the recent expulsion of two Chinese diplomats from the U.S.A. The public expulsion of a diplomat on charges of espionage is a sure indication that relations between the two countries concerned are less than warm.

There can be only one reason for the sudden American anger with China. It is the increasingly faster pace of normalization of China's relations with the Soviet Union. Sino-Soviet trade has crossed \$4 billion and the effort now is to raise it to \$10 billion in the next five years. If the Kampuchean issue is resolved and if Vietnam pulls out the bulk of its troops from Kampuchea this year or in 1989, a Sino-Soviet summit would most probably take place leading to restoration of party-to-party relations as well as full normalization of bilateral relations. The two countries will certainly not return to the relationship of the 1950s; neither wants it, nor are the times fit for that kind of relationship.

## CHANGES

It is not being too optimistic to anticipate that in the next couple of years, the Sino-Soviet border issue will be settled, the two sides will pull out their troops from the Manchurian border, the Soviet troops will leave Mongolia, the intermediate range Soviet missiles will be removed from the far east. All this, together with the



withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, will make qualitative changes in the triangular U.S.-China-Soviet relationship that have existed for more than 20 years.

There are signs all over the world of a new phase in international relations that will be much less polarized and whose chief characteristic will be multiple efforts to live with one another in reasonable cooperation. In a less polarized world, India can expect to play a major role if it can establish good relations with the five principal centres of power—the USA, Soviet Union, Japan, the EEC and China.

Among these five, China is the power centre with which India's relations continue to be the poorest. Why do the Chinese show so much interest in normalizing relations with India? There can be several explanations. In the changing pattern of world politics, the Chinese would probably like to see a balanced relationship established between the USSR, India and China. Perhaps the Chinese believe that with a tension-free relationship with India, and with the Sino-Indian border issue resolved or neutralized by mutual agreement, the situation in Tibet will become more stable, and China will have nothing to fear from India, the Dalai Lama and the nearly 100,000 Tibetans living in India as his ardent followers.

An Indian initiative to normalize relations with China at this stage may well be handsomely rewarded. The Chinese will not make unilateral concessions on the border, but it is worth exploring in concrete terms what they mean by "mutual understanding and accommodation." And this problem can be made only at a very high political level. If Gorbachev can repeatedly ask for a meeting with Deng Xiaoping, and not be discouraged by Deng's hesitations, why cannot Rajiv Gandhi make a trip to Beijing? He is the only leader of a major nation without any direct experience of China.

/12913

#### Central Bureau of Investigation 'Dirty Tricks' Department

46001335 Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 28 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] In just over 3 years, and principally in the past 12 months, a subtle transformation has been effected in the working of the Central Bureau of Investigation. Once a powerful enforcement arm of the government, the CBI says insiders, has become an extension of the ruling party, in effect its dirty tricks department.

The investigating agency was set up under the Delhi Special Police Establishments Act, 1946 and was originally meant to investigate offences concerning departments of Central Government. Successive governments seemed to have decided that it would be the ideal vehicle for investigating political cases, and so a series of amendments were worked into the Act governing its functions.

By the early eighties, these amendments had the effect of making the CBI an investigating agency that had all the powers of the police, and then some more. But as the CBI came to be used increasingly as an enforcement arm of the party in power, it gradually lost much of its credibility and reputation as an independent, impartial agency. Forgotten are the triumphs of yesteryears, the Mundhra case, the A.N. Ray bomb blast case, the Pondicherry licence scandal and other significant investigations.

In the past year, say CBI insiders, the position has become very bad. The prime minister and the Congress (I) face flak from different directions and it is the CBI which is entrusted with the task of fanning the convenient flames and dousing the inconvenient ones. The dossier of CBI achievements in this period provides gloomy reading.

—In March 1987, a letter written on stationery of the Virginia based Fairfax Group, which was conclusively established to be a forgery, inspired the CBI to investigate the so-called Hershman affair. Heads rolled, arrests were made and the Thakkar-Natarajan Commission of Inquiry was set up but the letter, in spite of its use as an aid to investigation, still has no legal status. Only the CBI can say where the letter came from and how.

—On 22 April 1987 over a hundred officers and men of the CBI raided the homes and offices of 37 defence agents, including Mr Win Chadha, the consultant to Bofors. The agency had never in the past initiated such a broad-based, omnibus-like inquiry which, in this case, seemed directed at scaring defence agents. Significantly, the only person to be frightened off was Mr Chadha, who disappeared mysteriously from India to surface in the USA.

—The Thakkar-Natarajan commission asked—indeed chose—the CBI to assist it. And, in an act of questionable legality, the agency decided to record statements of key witnesses who would, in any case, be asked to depose before the commission. Government officers were intimidated with the charge of leading information to newspapers, which had no right to make.

—A deputy inspector general of the CBI, Mr R.K. Gupta, was present in New York when Mr Win Chadha was questioned by the Enforcement Directorate. Was the CBI investigating the Bofors affair? Inquiries reveal that it was not and that Mr Gupta had gone abroad pursuing a "secret" inquiry. Who ordered the inquiry and why was it secret?

—On 13 February 1988 the CBI swung into action again. This time by arresting the "godman," Chandra Swamy, who was alleged to have performed yagnas against the prime minister. The arrest came within days of the Enforcement Directorate having returned Chandra Swamy's passport on court orders and ensured that the godman did not leave the country.

Insiders say that the CBI's curious actions can best be explained by the manner in which its present director, Mr Mohan Katre, was given an extension. An IPS officer of the Maharashtra cadre, Mr Katre had been in charge of sensitive inquiries—including the Fairfax one—and was thus closely involved.

As late as August 1987, it was decided—and formally announced that Mr C.M. Radhakrishnan Nair would take over as director on 1 November, following Mr Katre's retirement. Three days before Mr Nair was to take over, the prime minister's office reversed the Cabinet decision on the appointment and announced that Mr Katre would get an extension for an unspecified period. The obvious question which followed was whether Mr Katre knew something about sensitive cases which others like Mr Nair did not.

Inquiries reveal that the exclusive knowledge that Mr Katre could have is the identity of the person who handed in the letter written on Fairfax stationery. The letter was shown to Mr S. Gurumurthy of the Indian Express within hours of his arrest in Madras in March 1987. It sought to implicate Mr Gurumurthy, government officials like Mr Bhure Lal and Mr Vinod Pande, and an industrialist, Mr Nusli Wadia, in major foreign exchange violations and a criminal conspiracy. Allegedly signed by Mr G.A. McKay of Fairfax, the letter was later established to be a forgery.

With this established, the CBI is bound to prosecute the person or person who forwarded this forgery to the agency. Mr Katre cannot even take the plea that the letter was sent anonymously because government agencies, under law, cannot act on such information. And if, as has been suggested, the letter was handed over by someone in the prime minister's office, the CBI is bound to identify the person. And prosecute him or her. The CBI and Mr Katre are vital links in this chain and thus far they have maintained silence.

In the Win Chadha affair also, the CBI has not exactly covered itself with glory. It was the official agency to have last contacted Mr Chadha before he fled to the USA.

And now, there are the mysterious trips abroad by Mr R.K. Gupta, a DIG of the agency. Mr Gupta has thrice gone overseas in recent months. In November 1987, he was said to have gone abroad in connection with a "pending" case. In December and now this month, he is recorded as having gone abroad for a "secret inquiry." Mr Gupta has visited Sweden, the USA, Switzerland, Liechtenstein and Panama.

And Mr Gupta was quite obviously present when Mr Win Chadha was questioned by the director, Enforcement, Mr Anil Kumar in New York. On his return to New Delhi, Mr Gupta admitted to a newspaper that he was present when Mr Chadha's statement was recorded.

Unwittingly, this disclosure only makes things difficult for the Enforcement Directorate, if its intention was to extract a statement from Mr Chadha which could be used in evidence.

Under the Criminal Procedure Code, a statement made before a police officer is not admissible in evidence. And Mr Gupta is a police officer whose presence could create a major legal hurdle if Mr Chadha's statement is to be used in court. What then was Mr Gupta doing in New York? Was he to assist investigation or sabotage it?

Another mysterious aspect of Mr Gupta's sojourns in how the CBI, in the first place, was entrusted with the Bofors investigation, who authorized it. The speculation in CBI headquarters is that Mr Gupta's involvement may have followed a request from the parliamentary committee investigating Bofors. But if that is the case, why has a P.E. (preliminary enquiry) report not been registered, as is normal. Has the inquiry been dubbed secret to pre-empt the possibility of damaging evidence being introduced before the committee?

Old timers in the agency are similarly intrigued by the ham-handed arrest of Mr Chandra Swamy by CBI officials in New Delhi on 13 February. The CBI as a rule is wary of reacting to disputes between private individuals. And in this case, it is a Mr Lakkubhai Pathak of London who has alleged that he was cheated by Mr Chandra Swamy in New York more than 4 years ago. The complaint is said to have been sent to the government by its high commission in London in September 1987.

Besides obvious questions about jurisdiction, and about the CBI's interest in such a matter, the timing of the arrest is itself questionable. Mr Swamy seems to have claimed that he had information about Bofors and its deal with India. On arrival in India some months ago, he was detained by the Enforcement Directorate and his passport impounded.

When the High Court ordered that the passport be returned, the CBI arrested Mr Swamy and his associate. The complaint had reached New Delhi in September 1987 but the CBI acted 5 months later, and only after the High Court decided that Mr Swamy could have his passport back. Why? If the intention was to ensure that Mr Swamy did not leave the country, the CBI's action came in very handy.

Questionable as the CBI's actions have been, they also provide an ironical insight into what may have been if the Bofors affair had been properly—and competently—investigated. As things stand, it is the Enforcement Directorate which is looking into the matter. And this directorate's energies should logically be directed at ensuring that Mr Win Chadha, a key person in the drama return to India.

Mr Chadha shows no inclination to return, which means that the Indo-U.S. extradition treaty will have to be invoked. But under the terms of the treaty, extradition would become easy if a person is wanted in India for offences which are punishable in the U.S. The Enforcement Directorate grounds for extradition have to be limited to exchange control violations, which are not a crime in the U.S. The CBI, on the other hand, could launch proceedings for conspiracy and fraud—both punishable offences in the U.S.—and make extradition relatively easy.

But judging from its recent track record, this is one investigation which the CBI under Mr Katre will want least. Perhaps, that is why the CBI is still under Mr Katre. And why the government wants no change.

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#### Reportage on Swearing In of New State Cabinets

##### Madhya Pradesh Ministry

46001328 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
16 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] Bhopal, 15 February. (PTI, UNI)—A 15-member three-tier ministry headed by Chief Minister Arjun Singh assumed office in Madhya Pradesh today.

The new ministers were sworn in this afternoon by Governor K.M. Chandy at the Raj Bhavan here.

Of the nine cabinet ministers announced by the governor, only eight took the oath today. All of them, except Mr Chandra Prabhash Shekhar, were members of the outgoing Motilal Vora Ministry. Mr Balendu Shukla was absent.

Of the six ministers of state, Mr Ramji Mahajan could not take the oath.

The new team includes one deputy minister.

Prominent among the dropped Vora ministry members are Rasool Ahmad Siddiqui, Ram Kishore Shukla (finance) Kanhaiyalal Sharma (food and civil supplies) and Durgadas Suryawanshi (PWD), some of whom were considered closed to Mr Vora.

Agriculture Minister Shivbhanu Solanki, Industries Minister Bharat Singh, Housing Minister Mahesh Joshi, Minister for Harijan and Backward Classes Mrs Kamla Devi, Animal Husbandry Minister Mrs Ganga Potai, and Health Minister Balendu Shukla again find a place in the ministry. Mr Shukla however could not take the oath today as he was not present.

The new Cabinet ministers are: Mr Shivbhanu Solanki, Mr B. R. Yadav, Mr Banshilal Dhritahare, Mrs Kamla Devi, Mrs Ganga Potai Thakur, Mr Bharat Singh, Mr Mahesh Joshi, Mr Chandra Prabhash Shekhar.

Ministers of state: Mrs Manju Rai, Mr Vishnu Rajoria, Dau Hanumant Singh, Mr Rajmani Patel and Mr Hasnat Siddiqui.

Deputy minister is Mr Rameshwar Patel.

##### New Bihar Cabinet

46001328 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
21 Feb 88 p 7

[Text] Patna, 20 February—Bihar's new council of ministers was sworn in this morning at Raj Bhavan. The new council has 10 cabinet ministers and 12 minister of state.

Soon after his arrival here at 10:50 a.m. from Delhi, the chief minister, Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad, drove straight to Raj Bhavan and handed over the list to the governor, Mr P. Venkatasubbaiah. The swearing-in ceremony started at 12:20 p.m. Mr Lahtan Choudhry was the first to take the oath of office and secrecy which was administered by the governor.

Mr Azad said: "This is the first phase of cabinet formation." He refused to make any commitment regarding the second phase.

Mr Ramashray Prasad Singh, Mr Dinesh Kumar Singh, Mr Saryu Mishra, Mr Ram Jaipal Singh Yadav, Mr Lokesh Nath Jha, Mr Harihar Mahto and Mr Bhukla Bhagat, cabinet members in the Dubey ministry, have been dropped.

The ministers of state who have not been retained are Mr O.P. Lal, Dr Khalid Rashid Saba, Dr S.M. Issa, Mr Arjun Vikram Shah, Mr Thomas Hansda, Mrs Sushila Kerketta, Mr Vijay Shanker Dubey, Mr Ishwar Chandra Pandey, Mr Jitan Ram Manjhi, Mr Vishwa Mohan Sharma, Mr Surendra Prasad Tarun, Mr Yamuna Prasad Ram, Mr Anugrah Narain Singh, Mr Madan Prasad Singh and Mr Sanatan Sardar.

Those who were present at the swearing-in ceremony included the Assembly speaker, Mr Shiv Chandra Jha, the acting chairman of the Vidhan Parishad, Mr Umeshwar Prasad Verma, and the outgoing minister.

Six of the cabinet ministers—Mr Lahtan Chaudhary, Mr Sidheshwar Prasad, Mr Mahabir Paswan, Mrs Uma Pandey, Mr Hidayatullah Khan and Mr Rajendra Prasad Singh, were in the Dubey ministry.

Among the cabinet ministers, Dr Nagendra Jha, a nominated member of the Vidhan Parishad, is perhaps the seniormost, having served the Daroga Rai ministry of 1970 and the Chandra Shekhar Singh ministry of 1983, Mr Tiru Mochi Rai Munda, a tribal leader, is also a known face having served in several ministries in the post-1972 period. Mr Dilkeshwar Ram was first given a ministerial assignment in the Jagannath Mishra ministry of 1980 and then in the Chandra Shekhar Singh ministry.



Mr Bhisan Pasad Yadav has become a minister for the first time. A close relative to the late Mr Daroga Prasad Rai, Mr Yadav had been the chief whip of the state legislature Congress Party for the past several years.

The four ministers of state who have been retained from the Dubey ministry are Mr Bandi Shankar Singh, alias Swaraj Babu, Mr Awadh Bihari Singh, Dr Vijay Kumar Singh and Mr Rajendra Prasad Yadav.

Mr Amarendra Mishra and Mr Gauri Shankar Pandey were in the Chandra Shekhar Singh ministry also and Mr Shyam Sundar Singh Dheej and Mr Ishwari Ram Paswan were in the Jagannath Mishra ministry of 1980.

Mr Azad appears to have given representation to almost all the groups in the state congress. While Dr Jagannath Mishra should be happy over the selection of his nominees like Mr T. Mochirai Munda, Mr Amarendra mishra and Mrs Stencila Hembrom, the forces opposed to Dr Mishra in the Mithilanchal region should feel satisfied on the selection of Dr Nagendra Jha. Mr Satyendra Narain Singh, MP, popularly known as "Chhote Saheb" in state politics, should also be satisfied with the induction of Dr Vijay Kumar Singh and Mr Dilkeshwar Ram.

Even the youths are likely to be content with the selection of Mr Dheeraj, Mr Dilip Kumar Sinha, Mr Ishwari Ram Paswan, Mrs Stencila Hembrom and Mr Asafaque Ansari.

**Meghalaya Cabinet Sworn In**  
46001328 New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
19 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] Shillong, 18 February (UNI)—The strength of the Congress led P.A. Sangma Ministry rose to 19 with the induction of four Cabinet ministers from HPU and one minister of state from Youth Congress today.

Besides, congress, HPU, APHLC (A Marak group) and an Independent are the partners of the coalition ministry in Meghalaya.

The strength of the Sangma Ministry has been solidified to 37 in a House of 60. One result is outstanding.

The break-up of the coalition is: HPU (seven), APHLC (A) Marak group (two), and Independent (six). Congress has a strength of 22.

In the 19-member two-tier ministry, APHLC (Marak) has a share of 2, and HPU 4 besides 1 independent, all of them holding Cabinet rank. The Congress has 12 including Mr Sangma and deputy Chief Minister D.D. Lapan. The ministry comprises 17 Cabinet ministers and 2 ministers of State.

Besides, five Independent MLAs have been given chairmanship of various State-owned corporations.

Mr B.B. Lyngdoh, who headed the breakaway group of HPU, has been tipped as chairman of the State Planning Board, according to a highly placed source. Mr Lyngdoh will also be a "permanent invitee" to the Cabinet the source added.

The HPU is vertically split into two groups, one led by S.D. Khongwir and the other by B.B. Lyngdoh, following the support to the Congress led ministry by its seven MLAs including Mr Lyngdoh.

Last week, Governor Bhishma Narain Singh summoned the Assembly to meet on 22 February and a trial of strength is slated for 24 February to ascertain the majority of either group—one led by Mr P.A. Sangma (Cong) and the other led by Mr S.D. Khongwir, leader of the Regional Democratic Front (RDF)—comprising HPU, HSPDP and PDIC and some Independents. The RDF was formed last week-end with a view to ousting the congress coalition ministry and form a regional government.

With today's expansion and political polarisation, political observers here feel that the P.A. Sangma Ministry with a comfortable majority will be able to ensure the state's all round development which was affected since June in the wake of student stir on the alien issue, innerline regulation and 100 percent seat reservation for local tribals in the Assembly and job reservation.

Mr Sangma said his ministry had a "thumping majority and many more are coming to its fold. If the present trend continues, it will be difficult for me to accommodate all," he said.

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**Reporter Writes on Kashmir's Fundamentalist Muslims**  
46001327 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
18, 19 Feb 88

[Article by Yusuf Jameel]

[18 Feb 88 p 4]

[Text] Srinagar, 17 February—Central intelligence agencies operating in Jammu and Kashmir are investigating the alleged clandestine relationship between the fundamentalist Muslim United Front (MUF) and Iran.

Reliable sources said the probe was ordered after the Centre and the state government received complaints that the MUF was getting financial and other assistance from Iran. Teheran was also said to have had a hand in the formation of the MUF 18 months ago.

The Jammāt-e-Islami-dominated MUF comprises some two dozen religious and political organisations, and enabled fundamentalists in the Kashmir Valley to come to the fore during the March 1987 Assembly election.

Official eyebrows were further raised when senior MUF leaders recently received invitations to attend a religious conference and Islamic revolution celebrations in Teheran. However, neither Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the firebrand leader of the Jamaat, nor Dr Qazi Nissar Ahmed-bin-Muhammad of the Ummat-e-Islami party, could attend. Mr Geelani's passport had been impounded some years ago on the charge of starting anti-India campaigns on his foreign tours, while Dr Qazi Nissar was unable to get his travel documents ready.

However, Moulvi Abbas Ansari, the MUF convenor, is currently in Teheran as a representative of the Front at the officially-sponsored celebrations. This is his second visit to Iran in 2 months. Late last year he had attended a religious conference in Teheran.

Moulvi Ansari's last visit had caused some rumblings within the MUF as he had not objected to being introduced as the representative from India. The objection of the Pakistani delegate was rejected by the organisers. When asked on his return why he had not said he was from "disputed" Kashmir, the Moulvi replied that he had been unable to protest since he was travelling on an Indian passport.

Official sources felt that the MUF's political philosophy reflected the teachings of Ayatollah Khomeini. A large quantity of literature bearing his message is regularly received here, and both Shias and Sunnis have been represented in the MUF ostensibly at his insistence. The Jamaat-e-Islami openly supports the Iranian leadership.

Moreover, Dr Ghulam Qadir Wani, one of the brains behind the MUF, was a translator at Iran's cultural centre in New Delhi before he joined active politics in Kashmir. Another important MUF leader, Prof Abdul Ghani, is said to be very close to Iran. A former government teacher in Persian, he was sacked from the G.M. Shah government for his links with the Jamaat in the wake of the communal disturbances in the state during February-March 1986.

Sources said the MUF received "extraordinary" coverage in the Iranian media, especially government-controlled radio, during the Assembly election. An Iranian newspaper even described the contest between the National Conference Congress (I) alliance and the MUF as one of "infidels and Islamic revolutionaries."

According to the sources the intelligence agencies are intercepting the MUF's mail and are questioning political detainees about the exact nature of its links with Teheran.

Denying that Iran had a hand in the MUF's formation, Prof Ghani said, "New Delhi should be sure that Kashmir will not form a part of Iran because there are no geographical links. Instead, it should ask Jagmohan (the governor) why he helped create the MUF." He added

that Ayatollah Khomeini was too busy fighting Iraq, the U.S., the Soviet Union and internal dissidents to "think of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir."

However, voices are being raised within the MUF about its inclination towards Iran. Dr Qazi Nissar was recently quoted in a local newspaper as saying that Teheran was trying to use the MUF against Saudi Arabia in Kashmir. Nevertheless, slogans raised at MUF meetings are those heard in Teheran or Isfahan: La sharaqia la garabia, Islamia, Islamia (Neither east nor west, Islam is the best).

[19 Feb 88 p 5]

[Text] Srinagar, 18 February—Infighting in the fundamentalist Muslim United Front (MUF) has come into the open with some of the 17 member-parties accusing each other of "un-Islamic" conduct. The situation has been aggravated by open squabbling within the Ummat-e-Islami, one of the MUF's main constituents. The dissensions are threatening the very existence of the Front which had claimed to be an alternative to Dr Farooq Abdullah's National Conference.

The infighting surfaced last month when the orthodox Jamaat-e-Islami, which dominates the MUF, accused other constituents of "un-Islamic" conduct while holding rallies to celebrate the release of Prof Abdul Ghani and Dr Ghulam Qadir Wani from jail after 9 months' detention. The two are prominent MUF leaders.

The first salvo was fired by the firebrand Jamaat leader, syed Ali Shah Geelani, who objected to the "festive air" at a public rally held at Patan near Srinagar. The rally was addressed by Dr Qazi Nissar Ahmed-Bin-Muhammad of the Ummat-e-Islami, Mr G.M. Shah, former chief minister, and Mr Abdul Ghani Lone of the People's Conference. They were later taken out in a procession led by drumbeaters.

Dr Nissar countered the charge and Mr Shah, too, expressed his unhappiness at the attitude of the Jamaat leaders. The latter, however, contended that the attempt to wean away MLAs from the ruling alliance was against the tenets of Islam, and that the entry of Mr Shah and Mr Lone into the MUF had brought "bad politics" to it.

The tussle is essentially for supremacy within the MUF. The Jamaat is wary of being dislodged from its pre-eminent position, while leaders like Dr Nissar and Mr Lone are attempting to isolate it as they believe that most of the people do not subscribe to its extreme religious outlook.

The two leaders also feel that the Jamaat's repeated questioning of the validity of Kashmir's accession to India is uncalled for, as it will "land us in trouble someday." They particularly objected to Prof Ghani and Dr Wani's public declaration shortly after their release that Kashmir was a disputed territory.

On the other hand, the Jamaat leaders have lost faith in Dr Nissar who, they feel, brought Mr Lone and Mr Shah into the MUF. They also accuse him of trying to strike a deal with Mufti Muhammad Sayed in order to join the Jan Morcha.

Dr Nissar is also facing a revolt within the Ummat-e-Islami led by Mr Ghulam Nabi Sumji, an MUF MLA, who has accused him of a number of improprieties.

MUF sources said Dr Nissar's partymen had resented his public defence of Mr Hamza Dar, father of a party activist, Mr Jamshed Dar, who was held by the police on the charge of smuggling timber. He had also pleaded on his behalf with local officials. Rumours spread that Dr Nissar himself was involved in the scandal. When the authorities complained to Mr Sumji, himself a forest lessee, he raised a revolt.

The rebels asked Dr Nissar to furnish a statement of expenses incurred by him from the Ummat funds, but when he did not oblige, they prepared a "white paper" detailing alleged misappropriation.

Dr Nissar and Mr Sumji got rival meetings of the Ummat advisory council to remove each other from their respective posts, and accused each other of making contact with their party's arch enemy, Dr Farooq Abdullah.

The MUF's supporters have also got divided, and the Jamaat-e-Islami has tried to intercede. But the Ummat chief stunned the mediators by suggesting that the MUF's constituents merge to form a single party. This is something the Jamaat cannot accept since it claims to be a movement by itself.

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#### **Indigenously Manufactured Mainframe Computers on Market**

46001337 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
15 Feb 88 p 6

[Article by Lekha Dhar]

[Text] Pune, Feb 14—India's first indigenously manufactured mainframe computers are now rolling out of International Computers Indian Manufacture Limited (ICIM). The company has already delivered the first three mainframes to Bombay-based Grindlays Bank plc and to Delhi-based RITES (Rail India Technical and Economic Services). The fourth system will shortly be exported to Iraq.

The cost of series-39 mainframes, being made at ICIM's manufacturing facility here in technical collaboration with ICL (International Computers Limited), ranges between Rs 80 lakhs and Rs 2.5 crores. It has a main memory of 16 megabytes and a secondary memory of 100 megabytes.

While ICIM has begun on a positive note by introducing its mainframes there is a decided dampener from the department of electronics (DoE) which, according to the ICIM management, is trying to make public sector undertakings buy mainframes from the state-owned Electronics Corporation of India Limited (ECIL), which has a collaboration agreement with the Control Data Corporation (CDC).

Alluding to a remark in an interview by Dr N. Sheshagiri, joint secretary, DoE, about the CDC collaboration for the Cyber-800 series becoming outdated, Mr David Beesley, vice president (South Asia) and a member of the three-man committee running ICIM said, making an announcement and making a computer were very different. "Does this mean that the government won't take the ECIL mainframe?" Mr Beesley asked, after highlighting the credentials of ICIM's advanced mainframe to visiting newsmen.

Appealing for equal treatment, Mr Beesley said that ICIM was an Indian company 60 percent local equity and so should not be discriminated against. If obsolescence was the question, ICIM had introduced series-39 mainframes in India a month ago, within six months of its launch worldwide.

Mr Beesley said that the S-39 was the first commercial system to get a B-2 rating from the US defence. It incorporates the latest technologies in data communications, semiconductors, fourth generation languages and networking.

The need for a computer at the corporate level played a major role in the introduction of S-39. A mainframe computer at the corporate level is required not only to manage large data bases and cater to the needs of a large number of users, but also to act as a host to a wide range of computers at different levels in an organisation, Mr Beesley pointed out. Major users would include large public and private sectors undertakings, banks, insurance companies and defence organisations.

According to Mr Veer Sagar, senior vice president (marketing) of ICIM, with the introduction of series-39 now has a full range of departmental Unix mini computers and 101 mini computer families that integrate fully with the series-39 mainframes, enabling the offer of integrated solutions to customers.

With all products conforming to open systems standards (OSI), ICIM would not be in a position to integrate into its networks specialised solutions from other vendors also, Mr Veer Sagar said.

ICIM, in its S-39 uses the latest C8K chip by ICL in collaboration with Fujitsu of Japan which has been described as "three years in advance of anything in the USA." ICIM had also opted for fibre optic technology



which vastly improved the speed of transmission, said Mr Beesley, stressing on its relatively low operating cost and the advantage of not requiring helium or water cooling systems.

Mr Arun Tolani, general manager, said ICIM has over 600 computer professionals engaged in customer support, R and D software development and manufacturing spread over 80 locations in the country. He added that last year ICIM had entered the software export business and achieved revenues of over Rs 50 lakhs.

ICIM is an associate company of International Computers Ltd, UK which is a part of Standard Telephone and Cables having a combined turnover of over \$4 billion. The latest mainframe has made inroads into organisations like Woolworth's Australia, the Nato defense network, Europe, British Aerospace, and RITES and Grindlays here.

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### Links Between CPI-M, Tripura Volunteers Suspected

46001319 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English  
15 Feb 88 p 1

[Article by Santanu Ghosh. Words in boldface as published.]

[Text] Silchar, 14 February: The Centre has ordered an investigation into the alleged link between the CPI(M) and the secessionist Tribal National Volunteers (TNV) in Tripura.

Stating this, the Union minister of state for communications, Mr Santosh Mohan Deb (who was today inducted into the defence ministry), told **The Telegraph** that the Army and the intelligence agencies of the home ministry had been asked to conduct the probe. He said official reports from Agartala had clearly pointed out the "involvement" of a section of Marxists in the recent massacres of non-tribals.

Mr Deb was surprised that the killings took place only in the strongholds of the CPI(M). It was strange, he said, that the CPI(M) did not take any action even after repeated intelligence briefings on the TNV activities in the state. He claimed the insurgents were on the run only after the Army was inducted following the declaration of the state as a "disturbed area."

The Union minister confirmed his campaigning for the Congress(I) for the panchayat polls in West Bengal, slated for 28 February. He, however, said that the WBPPCC(I) president and general secretaries should formally ask for his services.

Mr Deb refuted allegations of "hooliganism" as well as "rigging" by his party in Tripura during the elections. He said it was absurd that the former chief minister, Mr

Nripen Chakraborty, was making such charges after being aware that they could never be proved. "Instead of clamouring from Calcutta, where he has a safe sanctuary, Mr Chakraborty should think of challenging us from the soil of Tripura which has rebuffed him by giving a verdict against the 10 years of red terror," he said.

While addressing a massive rally here last night, Mr Deb said he would try to secure sanction for the proposal to set up a Central University in the Barak Valley and declared he would not contest the next Lok Sabha polls if this demand was not implemented by then.

### Left MPs going

PTI adds: A team of eight Left MPs will be visiting Tripura soon to assess the reasons for the Left Front's defeat.

A spokesman of the CPI(M) said in Agartala that the MPs are Mr Ajoy Biswas, Mr Bajubhan Reang, Mr Naa-  
rayan Kar, Mr Tridip Chowdhury, Mr Dipen Ghose, Mr M.A. Bary and Mr Gurudas Dasgupta.

The team will visit the sadar sub-division and Udaipur in South District, which witnessed violence on the eve of the poll.

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### Statistics on Agriculture Termed Discouraging

46001311 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
22 Feb 88 p 8

[Article by Praful Bidwai; Words in italics as published]

[Text] The most startling conclusion that emerges from an analysis of recent official agricultural statistics and the mid-term plan appraisal, is that during the eighties, the growth in foodgrains production has been outpaced by the increase in India's population. For while over the past six years, the output of foodgrains has risen at a compound annual rate of a little under 1.9 per cent, the population has been growing at 2.2 per cent. (The calculations take into account annual fluctuations).

This means that we are back where we were 20 years ago—that is, when the green revolution was launched, Indian agriculture may in this sense have turned full circle. The "new agricultural strategy" appears to have exhausted itself.

This should put paid to the euphoria, which has been so much in evidence in the eighties, about great and steady strides made by a now "mature" Indian agriculture, in raising yields and in freeing itself from the constraints imposed by nature, in particular from the vagaries of the monsoon.

### Rates Go Down

The fact is that the "high" rates of growth, of the order of 2.75 per cent a year, registered between 1967-68 and 1983-84, and of about 3.5 per cent or so during the Sixth Plan, have now gone down to the levels registered in the earlier phase. What is significant here, is not just the low rates of growth—indeed, production may well pick up with a good monsoon—but the fact that they have taken place on a *new base*, corresponding to considerably higher costs of cultivation.

Such agricultural growth as has taken place has been geographically so unevenly distributed as to constitute a cause for worry in itself. In terms of crop composition too, it has been far more unbalanced than in the period preceding the green revolution or in the early years of the "new agricultural strategy."

Thus, while the yield and output of wheat have risen during the eighties, those of rice have behaved erratically, dropping rather sharply (by 8 per cent in the case of yields per hectare) in the drought year. The imbalance between these cereals and the so-called coarse grains (in reality, nutritionally superior and more appropriate) and pulses (the primary source of protein for a vast majority of the Indian people) has grown even wider. In the mid-eighties, the output of millet has stagnated at under 30 million tonnes. It is today less than the level a decade ago.

Pulses remain a classic instance of the results of wrong priorities. Their output has not grown at all, over the past decade. Indeed, in the eighties, it has on an average been 10 to 12 per cent *lower* than in 1958-59—since when wheat production has risen five times and rice output doubled.

Disparities in the regional distribution of growth are even more glaring. To put it simply, roughly three-fifths of the total output of food now comes from just about a third of its area. These "food bowls" are located in the prime watersheds of just half-a-dozen river systems and are endowed with fertile soil. But land in the rest of the country is getting more and more degraded or is already in an advanced stage of desertification.

Vast swathes of land in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu—i.e. along the entire West Coast—are turning arid.

Between 1979-80 and 1985-86, these states experienced a net decrease in yields or even in output—as high as 1.8 to 1.9 per cent *per annum* in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, and a little under 1 per cent in Kerala and Maharashtra. The situation last year was even worse. Most of Rajasthan—barring the eastern region—and large parts of Himachal Pradesh, eastern Uttar Pradesh, northern Bihar, Orissa, central and western Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (in particular, Rayalaseema and Telangana) are rapidly becoming arid.

Drinking water scarcity, unknown till the early seventies, except in the Rajasthan desert, has now become a routine feature of the rural reality in two-thirds of the country. Meanwhile, the green revolution's motor force—the irrigation pump—continues to be active, drawing enormous quantities of water to feed HYV crops and generate profits for the prosperous peasant in the "food bowls."

The causes of this degradation of land are not difficult to discern: organised disruption of the balanced system of agriculture, forestry and pasturing that once existed in the country, relentless deforestation, neglect of soil and water conservation measures (in the Seventh Plan, this is one of the worst laggards), rampant growth of monoculture and disappearance of genetic diversity, and the calculated disruption of watersheds by large irrigation projects which tend to concentrate water collected from a huge area in a tiny pocket. They impoverish the bulk of the watershed in order to irrigate the fields of the well-off peasantry in the small pockets.

One major result of all this has been the disruption of the normal rainfall pattern in region after region, although an absolute decrease in total precipitation has tended to be rare. This disruption affects crops at critical stages in their growth cycle and tells on their yields.

### New Drought

Another consequence has been the spread of the "biological drought" i.e., the depletion of the thousands of micro-organisms and other life-forms that help the soil to retain moisture and in other ways give it its fertility. At least two-thirds of the country's land has been in the grip of a biological drought in the eighties. It is this, rather than hydrological drought, that has been at the root of the crisis of Indian agriculture.

Such an environmental-agronomic setting could not have been more adverse from the cultivator's point of view. It is, of course, possible to maintain and raise crop yields, even in such conditions. The peasant proprietor or big farmer will attempt to do so by raising his inputs—and his costs. The marginal cultivator often does not even try. He cannot afford a high-cost solution. He will switch to alternative, sturdier crops, to grazing animals or even opt out of farming altogether.

The discontent of the middle big farmer as well as the small peasant with the agrarian situation today is a reality. But the sources of the two are different. While the former, the main and intended beneficiary of the green revolution, is disappointed because his profits are no longer rising as rapidly as they did in the late sixties and the seventies. However, they are nowhere near disappearing; and the peasant proprietor continues to maintain an essentially parasitical relationship *vis-a-vis* land,

water, labour and other resources. He is angry at the "betrayal" of the green revolution's promise of unbounded prosperity and of expectations rooted in greed.

The small, marginal peasant is really under a squeeze—ecological as well as economic. He is the worst victim of the biological drought and the elitist policies of the state—the IRDP, MFAL and RLGP notwithstanding. However, having been unable so far to articulate his own interests independently, he has tended, if hesitatingly, to join hands with the big farmers in the BKU-Sharad Joshi variety of "peasant struggles."

At any rate, the logic of such movements is not to question the green revolution but to perpetuate the "new agricultural strategy." This means attempting to imitate the western development model and inevitably entails subsidising agriculture *a la* the EEC countries. It would appear that Mr Rajiv Gandhi is inclined to accept this logic. However, there is simply no case for subsidies. High-cost agriculture is neither desirable nor inevitable and there are excellent, remunerative and ecologically sustainable alternatives to the "new agricultural strategy."

There is, besides, an even more compelling reason why agriculture should not be subsidised. This arises from the demand constraint. Given the existing—and rather inflexible, in the present political framework—levels of poverty in India, there is no likelihood that foodgrain consumption can, in a "normal" fashion, increase substantially and sustain such higher levels of production.

The barrier of 150-170 million tonnes can be crossed in one of two ways. Either India makes a transition to an altogether different grain economy by breeding animals for the table. Or alternatively, the bottom third of the population is enabled to consume more—which means a serious assault is made on poverty "from below" and through radical reforms; and at the same time, a substantial diversification takes place in agriculture. (Exports are of the question, given high domestic costs and low world prices).

#### **Social Reform**

A new grain economy would be socially irrational and economically unaffordable: it takes 10 kg of grain to produce a kilo of meat. The sole alternative is to move towards the combination of low-cost agriculture and social reform. This will naturally involve a reversal of priorities, abolition of subsidies, encouragement of cropping patterns which mesh into the micro-environment and, above all, a massive programme to regenerate dying land, to reafforest it, to bund and terrace it, to improve its water retention ability, and to put back organic nutrients into it.

It will also mean accepting that dryland farming, which covers 70 per cent of India's cultivated area, must be the mainstay of her agriculture. Above all, it means rolling back the "new agricultural strategy" and giving the rural poor primacy in the rejuvenation of Indian agriculture.

All these are hard political choices. But there is no other way out of the agricultural crisis and the Malthusian groove.

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**Statistical Office Releases 1986-87 Estimates**  
46001315 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English  
21 Feb 88 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, 20 February: (PTI): The total national income in 1986-87 was estimated at Rs 1,43,935 crores and the gross domestic product at Rs 1,62,326 crores during the same period, according to official statistics released here.

The quick estimates released by the Central Statistics Organisation (CSO) have taken 1980-81 as the base year instead of 1970-71 base year taken hitherto.

According to the CSO, the total national income (net national product at factor cost) at constant prices (1980-81) showed a rise of 3.8 per cent during 1986-87 compared with the previous year when the national income was estimated at Rs 1,38,611 crores.

The CSO said this growth rate was slightly lower than that of gross domestic product mainly because of higher consumption of fixed capital. At current prices, the national income in 1986-87 worked out to Rs 2,29,033 crores as compared to Rs 2,05,436 crores in the previous year.

The gross domestic product at factor cost at 1980-81 prices in 1985-86 was estimated at Rs 1,56,083 crores. This showed that there was a 4 per cent increase in GDP in 1986-87.

At current prices, the gross domestic product in 1986-87 was estimated at Rs 2,60,584 crores as against Rs 2,33,305 crores in 1985-86, showing an increase of 11.7 per cent during the year.

This increase of 11.7 per cent at current prices took into account the implicit price rise of about 7.4 per cent, the CSO said.

The CSO said there was a decline of 4.2 per cent in the production of foodgrains from 150.4 million tonnes in 1985-86 to 144.1 million tonnes in 1986-87, mainly due to decline in production of rice (5.3 per cent) wheat (3.1 per cent) barley (10.6 per cent) and jowar (13.1 per cent).



This decline could not be offset by increase in the production of bajra (22.6 per cent), maize (12.2 per cent) and ragi (6 per cent).

In the case of other crops, production of oilseeds increased by 6.4 per cent, sugar cane by 6.9 per cent and potato by 22.1 per cent. However, there was decline in the production of kapas (19.6 per cent) and jute (32.4 per cent).

In the animal husbandry sector, there was an increase of 3.9 per cent in the gross value of output. The net result of decreases and increases in various agriculture products and increase in livestock products, was a decline of 3.4 per cent in net value added in this sector.

The mining sector showed a rise of 11.6 per cent in net value added mainly due to increase in the value of output in petroleum and natural gas (13 per cent), coal cent in net value added mainly due to increase in the value of output in petroleum and natural gas (13 per cent), coal (9.3 per cent) and iron ore (10.8 per cent).

The manufacturing sectors showed a slightly higher growth of 9.3 per cent as against 9.2 per cent in the previous year. The rise in electricity, gas and water supply was also higher at 11.9 per cent in 1986-87 as against 8.9 per cent in 1985-86.

In public administration and defence, a higher growth of 11.6 per cent in 1986-87 was observed as against 6.2 per cent in 1985-86 which was mainly on account of payment of enhanced salary and wages as a result of partial implementation of the fourth pay commission's recommendations. On the whole, the services sector showed an increase of 6.8 per cent, the CSO said.

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**Editorial Calls Cabinet Changes Insignificant**  
46001318 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English  
15 Feb 88 p 8

[Text] Mr Rajiv Gandhi has finally reshuffled his council of ministers. In a sense, it is a fairly major one, involving as it does the appointment of three new cabinet ministers (Mr Dinesh Singh, Mr Bindeshwari Dubey and Mr Motilal Vora), elevation of one (Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha), shifting of another (Mr Arjun Singh) as chief minister to his home state of Madhya Pradesh, the dropping of still another (Mr G.S. Dhillon), the induction of 11 new ministers of state and deputy ministers and several changes of portfolios at the lower level. Thus if it is assumed that the Prime Minister has decided to keep the external affairs portfolio to himself on a long-term basis, only one major portfolio (commerce) or at best two (commerce and communication) remain to be allotted. In all probability Mr Rajiv Gandhi would allot one of these to Mr Shankaranand who is now chairman of the parliamentary committee on the Bofors gun deal; the resigned as cabinet minister in order to be able to take

up this assignment. So it is reasonable to say that the Prime Minister has at long last completed his team. Simultaneously he has also filled up gubernatorial posts which had been lying vacant for months, as for example, in Rajasthan and Maharashtra.

These appointments and changes after frequent speculations spread over almost a year suggest that Mr Rajiv Gandhi has regained the self-confidence which developments beginning last March had dented, if not shattered. If there was validity in the earlier view that the Prime Minister was reluctant to fill the wide gaps in his team because he was afraid of the reaction of those who would be disappointed, it follows that he has overcome that apprehension. By itself this is a welcome development. India cannot afford a Prime Minister who cannot choose his ministers for fear of offending some of his partymen. This having been said, it would however be legitimate to ask whether or not the changes amount to much. The answer has by and large to be in the negative.

The only significant addition at the cabinet level is Mr Dinesh Singh and he has been allotted a relatively minor portfolio (water management). In view of his earlier experience as minister for external affairs, commerce and industry, the logic of the new assignment is not clear. Similarly it is difficult to fathom the reasons behind Mr Rajiv Gandhi's decision to drop Mr Dhillon, the only Sikh minister who represents a Punjab constituency (Mr Buta Singh represents a Rajasthan constituency), and to include Mr Bindeshwari Dubey and Mr Motilal Vora. They have been made to give up as chief ministers of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh precisely because their performance was found to be below par. And if the Prime Minister's rationale for including them in the cabinet is simply the desire to accommodate chief ministers who are asked to step down, there is no good reason why Mr Harideo Joshi should have been left out. If anything, he has a larger following in the Congress party in his state than Mr Dubey and Mr Vora.

As for the changes in the states, the rationale behind the decision to send Mr Arjun Singh back to Bhopal after three years of hibernation in Chandigarh and New Delhi is obvious enough. The move can at once help contain one of the shrewdest politicians in the country today and improve the party's prospects at the polls in Madhya Pradesh whenever these are held. But apparently the same considerations have not determined the choice of Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad as chief minister for Bihar. Mr Jha, unlike Mr Arjun Singh, is not a dominating figure in his own state. Judging by the inclusion of anti-Mishra men in the council of ministers it looks as if Mr Rajiv Gandhi has decided to sidetrack and possibly even confront the most important Bihar leader, Dr Jagannath Mishra. If that is in fact the case, it would be reasonable to infer that Mr Azad's choice has been greatly influenced by that consideration. On the face of it, Mr Rajiv Gandhi must have some reason not to entrust Bihar to Dr Mishra who

alone could have possibly restored the party's fortunes in that benighted state. But it is likely to create serious problems for the Prime Minister and the new chief minister.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi has shifted a number of ministers of state to more innocuous portfolios than they have held. Without naming names, some of these changes are commendable and reflect a sensitivity on the Prime Minister's part to public opinion. No portfolio is, however, truly innocuous. The Prime Minister has also improved the Muslim and Harijan representation in the council of ministers. But he has failed to give proper representation to several states—Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab and Kerala among them. On this reckoning it cannot be said that these are the last changes before the next poll.

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## PAKISTAN

**Indian Naval Fleet Termed 'Regional Navy Plus'**  
46000104b Karachi DAWN in English 24 Feb 88 p 7

[Article by M.H. Askari]

[Text] Language of weapons is not the way to resolve bilateral issues; such was Prime Minister Junejo's riposte to the extraordinarily belligerent statements of Mr Rajiv Gandhi in Siachen. The Pakistan prime minister fervently appealed to India to respond positively to Pakistan's consistent desire for peace.

The latest cause of concern to Pakistan security is India's acquisition of the nuclear-powered submarine from Soviet Russian which can stay under water for months on end and has what is called a global range. Not much is known in Pakistan publicly of India's programme for nuclear buildup, and more importantly, how Pakistani strategy planners intend to respond to it. All governments keep their military plans secret. Pakistan, with its tradition of a dominant political role by the military, has to contend with occasional official statements and/or news leaks in Washington or elsewhere.

According to the Indian Press reports, the Victor class Soviet nuclear-powered submarine (since re-named INS Chakra) has been transferred to the Indian Navy on a 4-year lease. It is generally understood that more such submarines (the number ranges from one more to a total of eight) will in due course become available to India. INS Chakra has the capacity to fire 24 state of the art torpedoes through 21-inch torpedo tubes. Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who personally welcomed the submarine at Visakhapatnam (south India) insists that Chakra does not carry any nuclear weapons. Given India's known nuclear capability, it is not unrealistic to visualise that the weapons can be installed as and when they are wanted.

## Unified Plan

Prof Ashley J. Tellis of the University of Chicago, who spent long years in India, in a meticulously researched monograph on India's naval expansion, advances the theory that after President Nixon's decision to deploy the U.S. Seventh Fleet, including the nuclear carrier USS Enterprise, in Bay of Bengal in 1971, India has "set its eyes on dominating certain critical contiguous ocean areas that impinge on Indian security (and) the Indian Navy and Air Force have conceptualised the outline of a unified plan of defence seeking to insulate the peninsula and its offshore economic assets (not to mention the political centres of power within it) from any threat emanating via the Indian Ocean."

In other words, India's strategic aims are both regional and extra-regional. To quote Tellis once again, it is generally not realised that the Indian Navy's capital budget, which traditionally ranked third among the three services, began to rank first after 1974. (as far as one knows, in Pakistan it still has the traditional ranking.) Tellis says India regards itself as the direct successor to the British India's strategy of "sanitising the sub-continent's frontiers."

Tellis' assumption is borne out by some of the remarks made by Mr Rajiv Gandhi while addressing the officers and men of INNS Chakra at Visakhapatnam on 3 February. He declared that in order to keep its destiny in its own hands, India had to secure full control of the waters around it and thousands of kilometres of shoreline along the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal and upon the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean, he maintained, had been militarised (by extra-regional powers) and infested with nuclear weapons; as long as threats to India's sovereignty and integrity continued, it would have no option but to take every possible steps to safeguard the security.

Another eminent American South Asia specialist, Prof Stephen R. Cohen, in a report compiled in August 1979 also expressed the view that sailing of USS Enterprise in proximity to the subcontinent in 1971 was "the ultimate symbolic insult" and drive India's fear of extra-regional penetration of the waters around it to new heights "in the moment of its greatest political and military triumph." This, says Cohen, had a major impact on military planning in India and has since contributed directly to the Naval expansion programme.

## Regional Navy

Factors such as the breakup of Pakistan (1971), the overthrow of the Shah and end of Iran's capacity to be the policeman of the gulf (1979), the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the American decision to maintain a permanent naval presence in the Indian

Ocean through the expansion of the Diego Garcia base are believed to have greatly reinforced New Delhi's determination to expand its own naval fleet with the best possible equipment.

Today, the Indian naval fleet can justifiably be classified as a "regional navy plus." According to published information, "its firepower has grown exponentially, as has its tonnage, range and endurance, and the proportion of missile equipped vessels increased from roughly 10 percent in 19761-72 to 35 percent in 1986-87." The Navy is also said to have solved its problems with "block obsolescence" as the bulk of its front-line vessels are now between 10 and 20 years old. In short, the Indian Navy is now held to be among the six or seven largest navies in the world, and its contemplated expansion is designed "to leave the next two largest fleets, operated by Australia and South Africa, far behind both qualitatively and quantitatively."

In addition to the submarine flotilla, the Indian naval fleet now comprises among other aircraft carriers (including the former HMS Hermes, now renamed INS Virat, a relatively large carrier of the Albion class which saw considerable action during the Falklands war), and land-based a full-fledged naval air arm, and a land-based naval surveillance aircraft force which includes the Soviet TU-142s, already said to be reaching well beyond the Gulf in the west, the Straits of Malacca in the east, and the far reaches of the southern Indian Ocean.

To support the large sea-going fleet, India has substantial amphibious and auxiliary forces and sophisticated port facilities all along the eastern and western coast. Nonetheless, India's heavy (almost total) dependence upon the Soviet Russia for the supply of its Naval vessels, weaponry and ancillary equipment has frequently been criticised by some Indian defence experts themselves. They believe India may be falling into a trap which may become difficult to break out of. India's nonalignment is also held to be under heavy pressure.

In contrast to India, Pakistan's naval building plans do not seem to have received the priority that they merited. (This was particularly so in the critical initial years after partition, when India began to get a head start over Pakistan.) For one thing, President Ayub, firstly in his capacity as army commander-in-chief and later as defence minister and chairman of the Joint Chiefs' Committee, held the view that the Army, supported by an adequate Air Force, could always meet the defence needs of the country, making the navy almost superfluous, if not superfluous.

Ayub Khan's thinking is clearly reflected in the entry in his diary dated 13 July 1958 which he himself quoted in his *Friends Not Masters*. The entry says: "Held a Joint Chiefs' meeting. Several important things came up for discussion. Admiral Chaudhry (the correct spelling is Choudri) raised the question of the concept of defence of Pakistan again, over which the decision had already been

given by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet and he had agreed with the rest of us in the previous meetings. Heated discussion followed. Sent a message on this to the government." Incidentally, within a few months of Ayub Khan's taking over as chief martial law administrator and president of Pakistan, Adm Choudri relinquished the command of the navy.

#### Threat to Pakistan

In a recent comment on the threat posed to Pakistan's security by India's extraordinary Naval buildup, Adm (Rtd) Choudri once again stressed the strategic role of the navy in the event of hostilities. In his opinion, a sea blockade (of which India has developed obvious capability) can critically impede the capacity of the land forces to fight a long war, since targets on land, even those deep within the country, are now vulnerable to sea-based missile attacks, including those fired from submerged submarines. The admiral has convened a meeting of a cross-section of intelligentsia in Karachi on 27 February to discuss various ideas on "the possible re-ordering of priorities" to meet more effectively the growing maritime threat.

It is obvious nevertheless that the long-term response to the situation created by India's nuclear buildup does not lie in the effort for a parallel buildup in Pakistan. For one thing, Pakistan's size and resources do not permit such planning. Ashley Tellis, in his study concludes that the Indian buildup has the inherent capability to unnerve India's regional neighbours, something that merits greater attention, and says: "Unless India's military expansion is accompanied by a greater willingness to be more sensitive to the concerns of the smaller neighbours, its force superiority will never adequately translate into political preeminence. In these circumstances, the naval forces acquired for the general purpose of greatness may become the very source of larger political discomfort and discord." If anything, Tellis' verdict is an understatement: the actual scenario can be too horrendous to visualise.

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#### Defense Expenditures Said 'Crushing' National Progress

46000110 Karachi DAWN in English 18, 19 Feb 88

[Article by Air Marshal (Rtd) Zafar Chaudhry]

[Part I, 18 Feb 88 p 7]

[Text] National defence may be defined as the institution of various military economic and political measures to safeguard the geographic boundaries and the sovereignty of a nation-State.

Pakistan's case is somewhat special as it is a relatively new country and fierce argument is still raging about its *raison d'être*. There is little doubt that the founder had



created the country to free the bulk of the Indian Muslims from the economic stranglehold of the richer and better-educated majority community. The pathetic state of the Indian Muslims during the last 40 years is ample proof that his apprehensions were realistic and fully justified. Freed of these shackles, Pakistan has been able to offer unlimited opportunity for progress to its people which, even if it has not been utilized in the best possible manner, has certainly enabled them to improve their economic standing. If we have not done any better than we have, there is no one to blame but ourselves.

Some people also dilate on the cardinal importance of the ideology of Pakistan and the need for the defence of the so-called "ideological frontiers." However, this is normally done more to hoodwink the political opposition and as a cover-up of past political sins than on account of any real concern for a foreign threat to our way of life. In any case the "ideology" of the country remains undefined and there are sharp differences in its interpretation, even by those whose sincerity and patriotism are beyond question. So, when discussing national defence, one can do more than to consider the defence of the geographical boundaries of Pakistan, leaving it to the politicians to thrash out and promote their own philosophy on how the country should be organised and governed.

Our principle threat has been from our larger neighbour, India, and, generally speaking, we have been compelled to accord to defence the highest possible priority, inevitably leading to the neglect of other highly important sectors of national activity.

It could be said that this policy had succeeded in keeping India at bay and Pakistan has survived. It could also be claimed that our military strength had prevented India from launching an attack on Pakistan. In support of this argument it could be contended that the 1965 war was precipitated by Pakistani incursions into Kashmir, and the 1971 war was really a civil war between the two wings of the country which was only exploited by India. The emergence of Bangladesh should almost certainly be attributed to the failure of our internal policies, and not counted as a victory for the Indian armed forces.

It is obvious that our military strength can never be equal to that of India—not even if we were to spend the entire national budget on defence and not a single penny was spent on development, education, health, social services, etc. India's population is about eight times greater than ours, and their economic resources exceed ours in at least the same ratio. Industrially, India is several steps ahead of us and its scientific and technological resources are incomparably greater. No amount of wishful thinking can undo this glaring disparity between the two countries.

The burden of our defence budget is truly crushing. We spend the staggering amount of 60 percent of our national budget on defence, which works out to 7 percent

of our G.D.P.; this figure for the U.K. is 5 percent, France 4 percent, India 3.2 percent and Japan less than 1 percent. In other words, we spend a far greater proportion of our resources on defence than do most countries that are much richer and much more industrially developed. This is tantamount to perpetuating our poverty and backwardness. The gap between us and the advanced countries is becoming wider every day.

### Salvation

Our salvation, and indeed our survival, lies in allocating a much greater portion of our resources to development, education (particularly scientific education), housing, water, communications, health and social services. Despite the artificial boom created by foreign remittances, economic aid and the drug economy, the bulk of our population still lives below the poverty line—a population which continues to increase at an alarming rate and in which centrifugal and divisive tendencies continue to gather momentum with each passing day.

We are riding a descending escalator which is steadily gathering speed and soon a crash would be imminent. The dire need to reverse these trends is obvious.

It is no accident that countries which invest more in education have a higher standard of living, have greater national unity and are strong economically, industrially and militarily. It is man's knowledge that enables him to produce more, be strong and live better which, in turn, promotes national cohesion, makes the country inherently strong and renders external aggression less likely. Any short-cut, such as economic or military aid, will be purely artificial and temporary device, perhaps adding to the superstructure but weakening the foundations even further. A poor and backward country cannot but develop internal dissensions which invite external meddling and perhaps even physical aggression. A house divided against itself can never be strong, no matter how large its armed forces.

So, what we really need is knowledge, particularly scientific knowledge, modern technology and greater production. These will necessarily give us economic strength and give the people real national pride and a stake in the country's future. They would then no longer question the wisdom of having created Pakistan but be willing and ready to make every necessary sacrifice for the defence of the State with which their own welfare was linked so completely and inextricably.

Pakistan is not the only small country in the world; there are many others who are even smaller and militarily weaker and yet are able to secure their physical defence adequately. True, we have had the sword of the Indian threat hanging over our heads, but there are many other countries in the world who also have strong and unfriendly neighbours.

Defence is not secured by physical force alone; it is also secured by national unity and political and diplomatic action which will, firstly, reduce a potential threat and, secondly, rally some key countries to our support when the need arises. True, a country must be intrinsically strong and stable, but the notion of a country being totally self-sufficient in this day and age is an outdated one; today, all countries need help and support from some others and are, in this sense, interdependent. Such interdependency is a fact of the present age of rapid transportation and communication, and does not necessarily detract from the sovereignty and political independence of a country. Just as citizens of a State accept the limitations imposed by the laws of the land, so do States fulfil their international obligations that are geared to promoting their wellbeing and enhancing their security.

How then are we to reduce defence expenditure without compromising national security? This needs to be tackled in two areas: first, a realistic and purposeful effort to reduce the potential threats to our security and, secondly, a substantial reduction in the size of the regular armed forces.

The principal external threat to our security emanates from India, which has hitherto enjoyed overwhelming Soviet support. We must cultivate friendly relations with the Soviet Union, without whose backing India is most unlikely to cast an evil eye on Pakistan. The recent emergence of a highly imaginative and pragmatic leadership in the Soviet Union, and the massive changes taking place in the domestic and foreign policies of this superpower, should make this difficult task somewhat easier.

[Part II, 19 Feb 88 p 19]

Even if we disregard our problem with India, it is of cardinal importance to have good relations with a great power that is at our doorstep. Therefore, the orientation of our foreign policy needs to be altered radically so that it is placed on a more pragmatic and realistic footing.

Then, India is beset with increasingly serious domestic problems which will make her more inward-looking for quite some time. Also, the continuing problems with the Sikh extremists in East Punjab makes an Indian invasion of Pakistan a good deal less likely. However, on our own part, we must also assume a more conciliatory posture towards India and develop closer economic relations that would be to our mutual advantage. This will certainly help in defusing the climate of mistrust and intransigence that has plagued our relations for full 40 years.

Our security lies largely in our national unity and economic strength, and is not promoted by always rubbing India the wrong way as a matter of national policy.

It would be to our mutual advantage if India and Pakistan could agree to a balanced reduction of their armed forces. This avenue must be explored aggressively as it will permit a sizeable reduction in our defence expenditure without decreasing our military capability vis-a-vis India. This may be difficult, but if the U.S. and U.S.S.R. can discuss reduction of weapons, why can't Pakistan and India? True, India appears to covet the role of a regional power which will hold sway over most of her neighbours, and she may also have some apprehension about a possible threat from China. But it is these very reasons that make it necessary that every possible course be explored which might make the two sides serve their real national interests by reducing the staggering financial burden of their armed forces.

Luckily, there is a sizeable body of political opinion in India that realises the wisdom of reaching a genuine understanding with Pakistan, even though the present leadership does not appear to be so inclined.

Let us not forget, there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies—only permanent national interests. If Germany and Britain can become allies in N.A.T.O. only 20 years after a fight to the finish during the Second World War, it is not inconceivable that India and Pakistan will also become good and peaceful neighbours, thereby able to reduce their defence expenditure and devote greater resources to alleviate their tragic poverty and backwardness.

Friendship with China has been an important plank of our foreign policy and this must be maintained and strengthened even further, China has proved to be a sincere and reliable friend and, because of her geographic proximity to Pakistan and India, her support in the event of a threat to Pakistan's security will be far more effective than the support of countries farther away.

A reduction in the size of the armed forces should also proceed alongside the efforts made to defuse the Indian threat and muster greater and more effective political support for our national sovereignty.

This matter can be dealt with only in broad outline here. To begin with, the armed forces, as also the expenditure on defence, should be reduced to about two thirds of the size at present. Where possible, a larger reduction should be made in regular troops and a "territorial force" organised to form an effective reserve. This will be considerably more cost-effective and, most importantly, will also promote national unity by enabling the smaller provinces to play a greater role in the defence of the country; they will certainly welcome their enhanced participation in this important and high-profile national activity. It is about time that the common man was involved in the defence of his country and, thus, made to feel that the armed forces are really a bulwark against a threat to his own home, not an instrument of domestic oppression.

The standing force should be a highly trained and well-equipped nucleus, duly augmented by irregulars who should receive periodic training. Also where possible, regular troops should assist in the execution of developmental projects, such as digging canals and making roads, etc., thereby reducing the cost of these works. This should present no difficulty in the case of the bulk of the army whose personnel train professionally only for a few months each year and could easily be employed on national projects during the remaining period. Each division could be assigned a specific task which would generate a spirit of healthy competition and give the troops real pride in their contribution to the national effort in the economic field.

China has made extensive use of its armed forces in this role with considerable success, and we could certainly emulate them and benefit from their experience in this important field.

The issue of developing nuclear weapons has lately become an important factor in our defence policy. It is generally believed that Pakistan does possess the capability of producing a modest number of nuclear weapons in the not too distant future. India had exploded a nuclear device some 14 years ago and it is obvious that her technological and scientific resources are far greater than those of Pakistan. It must, therefore, be assumed that, given the political will, India can produce a fairly large number of nuclear weapons quite quickly, and in fact may already possess such weapons in her military arsenal.

Of course, it would be highly desirable if both India and Pakistan could agree to renounce nuclear weapons and pledge that such weapons would not be developed. But despite India's claim that it does not propose to develop nuclear weapons, she is vehement in her rejection of Pakistan's proposal that each side should be able to inspect the other side's facilities to confirm that nuclear weapons were in fact not being developed. Pakistan, therefore, has no option but to assume that India has either already produced nuclear weapons or is in the process of doing so. Once India has fully commissioned such weapons for military use, it will have the unchallenged capability to intimidate Pakistan and make it do her bidding.

The history of the use and development of nuclear weapons by various countries tells us that these weapons are most likely to be used when they are possessed by only one of the adversaries; when both sides have acquired nuclear weapons, the likelihood of their use diminishes drastically as neither side wishes to be subjected to their catastrophic onslaught by the other.

The Indian policy of not agreeing to mutual inspection as a safeguard against the emergence of nuclear weapons in this region, therefore, compels Pakistan to embark on the

development of these weapons, not because they would be meaningful means of waging war, but merely to ensure that India was not able to subject Pakistan to nuclear blackmail.

Once developed, Pakistan's nuclear capability would only be a deterrent against nuclear blackmail or an actual nuclear strike by India; it will not be a meaningful or credible deterrent against a conventional attack. It is inconceivable that when threatened by conventional weapons, Pakistan would resort to a nuclear strike, unleashing an exchange which, whatever damage it may or may not do the much larger land mass of India, would certainly cause the destruction of Pakistan. A conventional threat, therefore, will continue to require a conventional response. Nuclear weapons can only neutralise a nuclear threat; they cannot, as imagined by some wishful theoreticians, redress the imbalance between the conventional forces of the adversaries.

In conclusion, Pakistan must reduce the crushing financial burden of its armed forces. However, to ensure that we are not subjected to nuclear blackmail by India, Pakistan should acquire a modest nuclear capability, i.e. the weapon and its means of delivery.

Military strength is only one element of national defence which, in the long run, is dependent on economic strength and scientific and technological resources. Some other essential elements of national security are: true democratic processes, social and economic justice, fair and honest administration, national amity and unity, respect for law and human rights and equal opportunity to all citizens in all spheres.

A reorientation of our foreign policy is essential so that we are able to establish good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union—the superpower at our doorstep. This does not have to be at the expense of friendship with other countries.

An earnest attempt should be made to normalise our relations with India with special emphasis on trade relations which will be to our mutual advantage. Attempts should also continue to convince India that mutual renunciation of nuclear weapons will go a long way in promoting the welfare and security of both countries.

Defence spending should be substantially reduced so that much greater resources could be allocated to the spheres which make a country prosperous, strong and united.

Some suggested measures are:

a. Determined efforts should be made to reach an agreement with India on balanced force reductions by the two sides.



b. The standing army should initially be reduced to about two thirds of its present size. Regular troops should participate in the execution of national developmental projects such as digging canals, making roads, etc.

c. An in-depth study should be carried out to ensure that our armed forces are well motivated and functionally efficient, and not encumbered with decorative and wasteful elements that add nothing to their combat capability.

d. A "territorial force" should be established on regional basis. This will provide a cheap effective reserve and, most importantly, involve the common man in the defence of his homeland, promoting national unity and giving the smaller provinces a greater stake and role in the defence of the country.

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#### **Sindhis Urged To Unite Against 'Punjabi Imperialism'**

46000104a Karachi DAWN in English 23 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] Hyderabad, 22 February—The chairman of Jeay Sind Mahaz (Sind), Mr Abdul Wahid Aresar, has called upon the Sindhi people to unite on one platform against the 1973 Constitution and the present Federal system in order to liberate Sind from the yoke of Punjabi imperialism. Addressing a press conference at the Hyderabad Press Club here on Monday, he demanded the immediate release of Mr G.M. Syed and Thori case prisoners, expulsion of outsiders from Sind and complete ban on the entry of outsiders, an end to Kalabagh Dam and army cantonments, and implementation of 1945 agreement in respect of the distribution of Indus waters.

The Mahaz chief charged that the entire province had been converted into a prison and torture camp and the educational institutions had been turned into Nazi camps. He said that Sind Province had become a safe haven for murderers, narcotic dealers and ruffians, and kalashnikovs and heroin had become the culture of Sind.

He said that through a well planned conspiracy, 'Sindhi Qaum' was being paralysed mentally, morally politically and economically. Under these circumstances, Mr Aresar said, the Jeay Sind Mahaz felt it its bounden duty to give a call to the 'true sons' of Sind to unite and rescue Sind from the clutches of outsiders.

He observed that while millions were being spent on the welfare of Afghan 'deserters' the people of Thar who had fallen victim to the worst drought ever were made to live on Zakat money.

He said that Thori case prisoners were languishing in jails for 4 years, but the murderers had been awarded medals.

He accused a terrorist organisation of Punjabi abadgars of creating terror and harassment throughout the province.

He said that the Sindhis and Sindhis alone had the right to the resources of Sind.

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#### **Science Education Termed 'Woefully Inadequate'** 46000104d Karachi DAWN in English 25 Feb 88 p 7

[Text] The 2-day science fair inaugurated in a Karachi college on Sunday and the 4-day orientation workshop on science education currently being held in Hyderabad should help focus attention on the teaching of science in our educational institutions. This is an important aspect of the development of science in any country. There are many factors for the dismal state of science in Pakistan. These include a lack of political commitment on the part of the government to the promotion of science, inadequate allocation of funds to R&D, a bureaucratic approach in the drawing up of science policies, absence of public patronage, denial of freedom and autonomy to the scientific community to pursue its work and the failure to internationalise scientific endeavour. But even if all these weaknesses are rectified, the level of progress in science will in the last analysis be determined by the treatment the subject received in school. For it is here that the foundation for the development of science is laid. Giving school children a good grounding in science is an essential factor for advancement in this field. The standard of science of our colleges, universities and research institutions cannot be improved significantly if the base of knowledge is weak because of an indifferent and unprofessional approach to the teaching of science in schools, at both primary and secondary levels.

The college science fair in Karachi is to be welcomed in this context. Such events stimulate interest in the students and encourage them to apply their knowledge and creativity to practical purposes. But what needs to be emphasised here is that such activities designed as they are to create an interest in, and an awareness of, science among students need to be popularised extensively in schools as well. Although other exhibitions and fairs have at times tried to enlist the participation of school children, it has been done on a limited scale and not frequently enough. The fact is that with a few exceptions, science teaching in schools has not been of the desired standard. The four key elements in science education, namely trained teachers, books, teaching aids, and laboratories are woefully inadequate. Another factor is the poor teacher-pupil ratio—which does not allow for close interaction between the students and the instructor, so that science teaching tends to be mechanical and impersonal process. In many cases, the shortage of trained science teachers has led to incongruous situation such as unqualified or ill-trained persons being employed to teach science, with results that can well be imagined. The role of the teacher has assumed crucial importance in

view of the poor standard of textbooks and the negligible number of popular science books produced in the country. The science textbooks in use in most schools fail to inspire interest in the subject. Their dull appearance, shoddy and unimaginative style of presentation and poor contents do not make for proper teaching of science. Most importantly, the teaching aids and laboratories which are indispensable to the teaching of physics, chemistry and biology are generally inadequate and of a poor standard. Most schools have no laboratory facilities for the junior classes and limited ones for the seniors, while aids such as models, charts, computers, and films are virtually non-existent. Even with these deficiencies, good teachers can always make things significantly better by devising methods to make science teaching more lively and effective. A workshop of the Teachers Resource Center convincingly demonstrated how teachers and students could use low-cost material, tools and equipment to create models for science teaching.

It is time the anachronistic methodology still in use in the teaching of science in schools was discarded. An important principle is to create science consciousness

among students at a very early age by exposing them to scientific knowledge not through dull and insipid textbooks and lectures but through a process of involvement in experiments, field trips, slide shows and video films followed up with question-answer sessions. Properly trained and oriented teachers can create a lively interest in science among school students and also give them a sound knowledge of the basics essential for higher education in science. As for the teachers, the government as well as the professional bodies should arrange for special programmes providing for in-service training, workshops and courses to help them keep abreast of latest methodologies and techniques. The importance of science teaching in school must be recognised. Without a solid grounding in school for the future biologists, chemists and physicists, the country cannot produce high-grade and dedicated scientists in adequate numbers necessary for its technological and economic development.

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